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VOL. XIX.

"CARED DOETH YR ENCILION."

1906.

Ode

ON LAYING

THE FOUNDATION STONE OF THE SANATORIUM
FOR WEST WALES,

BY H.R.H. THE PRINCESS CHRISTIAN,

26TH APRIL, 1905.

BY SIR LEWIS MORRIS, M.A. (VICE-PRESIDENT
OF THE SOCIETY.)

Rejoice, be glad! At last

The hopeless pain of premature decay,
Which saddened the long past,
Knowledge has cleared away.

Beneficent Science here descending brings
A dove on snowy wings—
Hope for despair, and for that lifelong pain
New strength and health again!

To-day, to mark the triumph that has been,
The daughter of our unforgotten Queen;
The Sister of our King, whose kindly heart
In all his people's joys and griefs bears part;

Not ignorant of loss, but tenderer grown
For all her heart has known;

With courtly pomp, and white-plumed pageant long
And her own daughter fair,
Welcomed by bursts of ancient Cymric song,
To this wild hill-side's healing temperate air
Comes a thrice-honoured guest ;
Around her range our long-descended great,
Our native chivalry,
Sprung from our Royal Tribes, when Wales was free,
The Magnates of our West,
From ivied feudal tower and knightly home,
Fired by deep pity, come ;
The thrifty Yeomen, who to-day replace
The old free-handed ruling race,
Are here, and those good ministering hands,
Vowed to compassion by their Lord's commands ;
And those kind pitiful souls, whose healing skill
Shrank, baffled by the immedicable ill,
The dread "white plague", which saps young life away
Ere it can burst in flower—all these to-day
Give aid, expending time, and toil, and wealth,
To guard the people's health.
Content, if haply tho' with failing eyes
They see the routed powers of evil fled
And sole reward of their long sacrifice,
Health and new hope instead.
Two equal forces are there, heart and mind,
Helpless alone, of giant strength combined ;
Here both shall work to mutual service bound,
Rejoice, give thanks, till all the echoing hills resound.

Nature unpitying stalks on deaf and blind,
Careless upon her course, nor taketh heed
For aught, beside the imperious voice of Mind,
Nor halts for suppliant hands, nor hearts that bleed.

Yet not long now shall wives and mothers hear,
Sick with a boding fear,
The tearing, racking sounds, the struggling breath,
The harbingers of death ;
Nor dread the too bright eye, the hectic bloom
That speaks of early doom.
Or later, the pale cheek, the wasted limb,
The glittering eye grown dim ;
But health recovered, in untainted air
Shall smooth the brow of care.
Be of good cheer ! 'tis Knowledge strong to aid
That comes to succour us. Be not afraid !

Here, mid close belts of healing odorous pine,
For shelter from keen winds and drifting rain,
Drinking soft airs, the sufferers shall regain
New strength, new powers, to stay life's swift decline.
Heaven's pure breath, breathing round them day and
night,
Shall arm them for the fight,
Revive again the feeble forces dim,
And calm the fluttering heart, and nerve the faltering
limb.

But when the flying months have eased their pain,
Must they return again
To the old stifling dens, at last to sink
From very wretchedness, in lust and drink ?
Wise law-givers ! not pitying love alone
Can hush the sufferer's moan ;
But Knowledge, adding to the toiler's lot
Pure food, fit dwellings, unpolluted air,
The blessings that are not !

How shall the weary toiler come
To the diviner thirst for nobler things,
To whom the long day's labour ended, brings
No sanctities of home?
Must those we save, again,
Changing the ordered fare, the wise control,
The decent life, for crowded cabins foul,
Or the mine's choking dust; from heat to cold
Shiver at wintry daybreaks, as of old
Making our striving vain,
And sicken again in body alike and soul?
Ah! there are evils worse than death and pain!

Teach us to know Thy Will, Eternal Cause,
And love Thy changeless laws;
Aid us to know them as they are, indeed,
Holding the faithful creed
That to obey Thee is to gain, to know,
All knowledge else below.
This lowly house of healing which we raise,
Rock based, with mercy for its corner-stone,
Like those high minster spires of ancient days,
We dedicate to Thy praise.
Mercy Thou lovest more than sacrifice.
May not cold winds or our oft clouded skies
Mar this our humble work! but do Thou cheer,
Blest Presence, Mighty Healer, always near,
Our labouring hearts and hands, and Oh! come Life or
Death,
Quicken us with Thy Breath!

The Vandals in Wessex and the Battle of Deorham.

BY E. WILLIAMS B. NICHOLSON, M.A.,

BODLEY'S LIBRARIAN.

IN 577 Cuðwine (or Cupwine) and Ceawlin are said by Saxon chronicles to have fought the Britons at Deorham (now Dyrham, in Gloucestershire); to have slain three kings—Conmægl, Condidan, and Farinmægl; and to have taken three chesters—Gleawan ceaster, Cirencester, and Bathen ceaster. This victory was most momentous, for the capture of Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath separated Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall from Wales.

Of the *provenance* of these kings Freeman says nothing; Guest and Green infer that they were the kings of the three cities, and the former thinks that “in all likelihood” Conmægl ruled Gloucester; I presume he would have given Cirencester to Condidan, and Bath to Farinmægl.

Sharon Turner and Villemarqué, Guest tells us, identify Condidan with “the Kyndylan whose death is bewailed in an old Welsh *marwnad*, or elegy. But it appears clearly enough from the elegy that Kyndylan was slain near Shrewsbury, and, therefore, could not possibly be the Condidan who, according to the chronicle, was slain at Deorham, in Gloucestershire”. Mr. Plummer identifies the two without remark, adding that “nothing seems to be known of the other two Welsh princes”.

If we want to get at the entire truth about these early campaigns we must not, as has been the unscientific fashion, totally ignore Geoffrey of Monmouth.¹ He tells us (xi, 8) that the head of the British kings at this time was Karetic, a lover of civil war, hateful to God and his own people. That the Saxons finding out his instability

¹ See my letters, "Mons Badonicus and Geoffrey of Monmouth", in *The Academy* for Mar. 14 and Apr. 11, 1896; no attempt has ever been made to answer them. Let me add the following additional remarks. Geoffrey certainly wrote the rubbish in Book VII (the prophecies of Merlin) about the "serpens Malvernie", "Totonesius aper", "Lindocolinus coluber", etc., which he meant to be applied by his readers to the troubles then going on. But the Breton element is very manifest in the following incidents:—(1) Brutus, before settling in Britain, lands at the mouth of the Loire, defeats the Pictavians, and founds the city of Tours (the future ecclesiastical metropolis of the Bretons)—i, 12, etc. (2) Maximian creates a British kingdom in Armorica under Conan Meriadoc—v, 12. (3) Hengist, in his final and fatal battle, is defeated only by a cavalry-charge of Bretons—viii, 5. (4) Arthur retreats from York to London before heavy Saxon reinforcements, but on being joined by his nephew Hoel, king of Brittany, with 15,000 Bretons, drives the Saxons to the neighbourhood of the Forth—ix, 2, etc. (5) Arthur conquers the Romans in Gaul—x. (6) Cadwallon flies to Salomon, king of Brittany, returns with 10,000 Bretons, and makes havoc of the Saxons—xii, 4, etc. (7) Cadwallader flees with his people, devastated by famine and plague, to Alan, king of Brittany—xii, 15. The Bretons were so largely derived from Cornwall and Devon that two of their four provinces were named Cornubia and Domnonia, and (8) Corineus, the eponymous hero of Cornwall, is Brutus's second in command, kills Tyrrhenian giants by threes and fours, and chooses Cornwall for his portion of Britain on account of its greater fertility in giants!—i, 12, 16; while (9) in the Roman and post-Roman times the *dux Cornubie*, or *rex Cornubie*, constantly figures as the most prominent person next to the *imperator*. Part only of the first two incidents had been given by Nennius, and that all the rest should be the mere invention of a South Welshman (whom we do not know to have ever set foot in Brittany or Cornwall) would be strange in any case. And in face of his statement that he had translated a Breton book brought him by the Archdeacon of Oxford (still alive to deny the statement if untrue) it seems to me to exceed the bounds of reasonable theorizing.

went to Godmund, Gotmund, Gormund, or Gurmund¹ king of the Africans (Vandals?) into Hibernia (? Hiberia, *i.e.* Spain) "in quam maximis navigiis advectus gentem patriæ subiugaverat". That the African landed with 166,000 men, attacked Karetic, after very many battles chased him from city to city, at last blockaded him in Cirencester, captured and burnt the city, beat Karetic again, and drove him beyond the Severn. And that, while he was besieging Cirencester, Isenbard, grandson of Lodovic king of the Franks, came to him and entered into a treaty with him, by which he forsook his Christianity for the purpose of obtaining help to win the kingdom of Gaul from his uncle, by whom he said he had been unjustly expelled.

Now, if the whole of this story about the Africans were utter nonsense, it would still not be the nonsense that a South Welshman of the twelfth century would invent in writing a history of Britain, and, as in other parts of his work, Breton tradition is obvious. Chlodowig (Clovis), king of the Franks (who, of course, were neighbours to the Bretons), died in 511, and his grandsons were alive when the battle of Deorham was fought. In 558 his son Childebert, king of Paris, died, and the widow and two daughters were exiled by Childebert's younger brother Chlothachar. The widow may have given birth to a posthumous son, or a pretender may have claimed to be her son. Or, Isenbard may have claimed to be the great-grandson of Chlodowig, posthumous child of one of the wives of

¹ The uncritical printed texts before me read Gor-. The Bern MS. (Stadtbibliothek, 568) has Got-, but in 1898 I found from the make-up of the volume that, in spite of its Stephen-dedication, it was not copied *before* the end of 1170. The Welsh version also has Got-. The Bodleian MSS. vary. MS. Bodl. 514 (12th cent.) and four others have God-. The important twelfth cent. MS. Rawlinson C. 152 is very careless at this point and has the remarkable reading *Gundoforū*.

Charibert, king of Paris, who died in 567, and whose kingdom was then taken by his younger brother Chilpéric. Isenbard would be an excellent Frankish name, and the promise to renounce his Christianity is explained by the fact that the Vandals were Arians. It is vastly more probable that his story has a kernel of fact than that it is an irrelevant and purposeless fable.

And now for the Vandals. In 533 their African kingdom was destroyed; some were sent to Constantinople to be drafted into the imperial army, *and the rest were to be expatriated* (Procopius, *de bell. Vand.*, ii, 19). Where were they to go? Why not to Spain,¹ the country from which they had come, and of which the ruling race were Teutons like themselves? It would be equally natural that their males should take service as mercenaries under the Visigoths, who were then gradually completing the conquest of the Peninsula.

It would, of course, be *conceivable* that they should migrate to Ireland, but in Irish chronicles I cannot find any trace of an invasion at this time. And in favour of my emendation *Hiberiam* it is important to add that the "Lucius *Tiberius*" of our printed texts of Geoffrey should be Lucius *Hiberus* (the Iberian), according to the weight of the MS. authority known to me. I strongly suspect that beneath the fantastic romance of Arthur's war with him there lies the memory of a struggle between the Bretons and some Aquitanian Visigoth, who claimed to represent Roman authority, and against whom Arthur may have helped them as they had helped Arthur against the Saxons and Picts.

Vortigern is said to have invited the foreign-speaking

¹ The eighth cent. Ravenna geographer says the race fled to Mauritania Gaditana (iii, 12) and disappeared ("nusquam comparuit"). Mauritania Gaditana is the coast nearest Spain.

Saxons to aid him in fighting the Picts and Scots; it would be more natural that the Saxons themselves should invite the aid of Vandal mercenaries, who spoke a tongue virtually identical with their own. Dr. Guest, in his paper on "The English conquest of the Severn valley" (*Arch. Camb.*, III, ix, 134), has said "there is reason to believe that about the year 571 the kings of Wessex received an accession of strength, that enabled them to carry war into the very heart of the Welsh territory". He adds, "I do not stop to inquire whence came this increase of strength". That it came from Vandal mercenaries I propose to establish by an appeal to Old English place-names.

In Anglo-Saxon we meet with the name of a people Wend(e)las, of which the genitive Wendla and dative Wendlum occur. The Bosworth-Toller dictionary queries it as either the people of Vendil (North Jutland) or the Vandals. We also have Wendelsæ as the A.S. name of the Mediterranean, presumably given to it from the Vandals, who occupied first Andalusia (=Vandalusia?), then North Africa, the Balearic isles, and Sardinia. Consequently, we may presume that the name "Vandal" in Old English place-names would appear as Wendel-, Wendl-, or Wenl-. And we find that stem in the following names:—

In *Surrey*, Wendlesuurthe, now Wandsworth.

In *Berkshire*, Wendlesore, Windlesore, now Windsor.

Wændlescumb.

In *Oxfordshire*, Wendelebur', now Wendlebury.

In *Worcestershire*, Wendlesclif.

In *Hertfordshire*, Wendlesbiri.

On the borders of *Huntingdonshire* and *Cambridgeshire*, Wenlesmere, or Wendlesmére.

These are all the instances I can find. The first five are certainly within Ceawlin's Wessex, and the remaining two *may* have been.

It has been suggested that such places may have been stations of Vandal troops under the late Roman empire. But the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* exhibits no evidence that the Romans ever brought Vandals into Britain, and I must consider the distribution of the names as arguing the essential truth of Geoffrey's tradition. It is not unimportant to add that Wendlebury in Oxfordshire is the last station before Cirencester on one of the Roman roads, and has an old Roman camp which the Vandals doubtless occupied, perhaps after first driving Karetic out of it.

Let me also call attention to two places apparently named after the Vandal leader Godmund, for in Anglo-Saxon that name is only found twice, and not before the eleventh century.

The first of these is Godmundcestre, now Godmanchester. It is less than twenty miles N.W. of Bedford, Bedford, where Ceawlin's kinsman Cuthwulf fought the Britons in 571, and is the Roman Durolipons (Duroli Pons?), doubtless possessing *castra* which Godmund occupied.

The second is Godmundesleah, Godmund's Lea, the place at which a charter of 779 (Birch, *Cartularium*, no. 230) was signed. Its situation is unknown, but the land to which it relates lies on the ancient Fosse road, about fifteen miles N.W. of Cirencester, at Bourton-on-the-Water. I suspect that the name commemorates a battle fought by Godmund, and the fact that one of the boundaries is "slohtran ford"—represented by Upper Slaughter and Lower Slaughter—confirms this suspicion, though I know that M.E. *slaughter* has not been traced in Anglo-Saxon.

Remarkable, also, is the name of a place, close to Bourton, mentioned in the same charter—"urbi illi qui nominatur SULMONNES BURG".

Now, there is no Anglo-Saxon name at all like *Sulmonn*

to be found in Searle's *Onomasticon* earlier than *Domesday Book*, in which we get the name Salomon and a Salmones-berie in Sussex.

The Fosse road "passes within a few furlongs from the Village: and at about the same Distance from the Road is a Camp of a quadrangular Form, inclosing Sixty Acres, proved to have been a Roman Station, by the discovery of Coins and other Vestiges. On this Spot a Court Leet for the Hundred of *Salemansbury*, now of *Slaughter*, is annually held" (Bigland, *Co. of Gloucester*, 225). It is doubtless from this encampment that Bourton (=Burh-tún) takes its name.

That there were similar names in Old German can be seen in Förstemann—so that the absence of evidence for it in Anglo-Saxon before *Domesday* is not decisive against its having been an Anglo-Saxon name before 779. But Salomon was an undoubted Breton name, borne by a Breton king in 857-74, and, if we may believe Geoffrey's tradition, by an earlier Breton king of the seventh century. And, I suspect that, just as Arthur had (according to Geoffrey) obtained the help of a Breton force against the Saxons, so had Karetic; that its leader was named Salomon;¹ that he had occu-

¹ I suspect Salemansbury to be the Kaer Selemeion of the Triads in the *Red Book of Hergest*. In the printed text of Nennius this is Cair Celemion, with various readings, *elimon*, *elimon*, *celemon*, *celimon*, *celimeno*, *celeimon*, *ceilimon*. Prof. Rhys tells me that Solomon is Selyf in Welsh, but in the *Book of Llan Dâr* I find also Selim, and even Salomon: probably Nennius wrote Selimon. The vv.ll. beginning *el-eil-* suggest that all the existing readings spring from a MS. in which the illuminator omitted to fill in the S, and that some copyists wrongly supplied its place with a C. Compare the genealogies of the Harleian MS. 3859, where [S]elim is written without the S. at top of nos. xxii, xxiv. Those genealogies (xxvii) mention a Selemiaun, father of Catel: but this Catel, though he became a king, is said to have been originally only a king's servant (*Hist. Brit.*, 35), so it is doubtful whether a Caer could be named after his father.

pied the old Roman camp; that with him had come over the Frankish refugee Isenbard; that they had combined in an attempt to draw off Godmund to France; but that Isenbard shocked the Bretons by offering to become Arian. That would explain very simply how this unique information got into the Breton tradition which is at the bottom of Geoffrey's book.

The supposed number of the Vandals is, of course, absurd, but even that may contain the germ of the truth. It may have been originally written MCLXVI, *i.e.* 1166, and M may have been misinterpreted as = *millia*. If anyone thinks this too small a reinforcement to be effective, let me mention two facts. (1) Anglo-Saxon chronicles state that in the battle of 508 the British king had 5,000 with him, as if this were a very large number (compared at least with the Saxon strength). (2) In 655 the South Mercians were only 5,000 families, and the North Mercian land supported only 7,000 families¹ (Bede, *H.E.*, iii, 24)—a total for both kingdoms which represents little more than the present population of Oxford. In such times the addition of 1166 trained mercenaries, probably skilled in unfamiliar modes of fighting which would confuse their opponents, would be a most important gain to the West Saxons.

The Vandals would naturally land from Southampton Water, and I suspect that they were imported as early as 568, and that their first settlement was at Windsor. In that year Wessex defeated Kent at Wibban dun, supposed to be Wimbledon, near the banks of the Thames; and Wendlesuurthe, now Wandsworth, is on the river-bank only two or three miles distant. I am aware that Wandsworth is on the Wandle, but no other stream seems to bear that name, and I suspect that its Saxon style

¹ I do not know if Britons are included, whether as independent families or as serfs attached to English families.

(which has not come down to us) meant "the Vandal stream", *i.e.*, the stream on which the Vandals had settled.

In 571, Cuthwulf fought the Britons at Bedford. It would doubtless be from the events of this expedition that Wendlesbiri in Hertfordshire, Godmundcestre in Huntingdonshire, and Wendlesmere¹ on the borders of Huntingdonshire and Cambridgeshire, got their names.

In the same year Cuthwulf struck West, and captured Bensington and Eyusham in Oxfordshire, and it may have been then that Wændlescumb was occupied by the Vandals. It lay just opposite Oxford, in the Boar's Hill neighbourhood.

Wendlebury in Oxfordshire was probably occupied in 577, in the march on Cirencester, and Wendlesclif in Worcestershire either in the same year (after the capture of Gloucester), or a later year, perhaps 584, when Ceawlin apparently advanced North to Faddiley in Cheshire.

The question remains what became of these Vandals? Geoffrey's text applies to them (xi, 8) words used by Gildas (24) of much earlier invaders, and, later on (xi, 10), represents Godmund as wasting nearly the entire isle, and giving the greater part of it, called Loegria (*L[l]oegr* is Welsh for *England*), to the Saxons.

My own suspicion is that the Vandals became incorporated with the Saxons. That they left descendants in England seems to me morally certain, if not from the name of Wendling in Norfolk, at any rate from that of Wendlingburh (now Wellingborough) in Northamptonshire. And the name of Godmunddingaham, now Goodmanham, which is found as early as Bede (*H. E.*, ii, 13), suggests

¹ It is uncertain whether this means Vandal's boundary, or Vandal's lake: see the context in Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.*, 904, with *mére* "boundary", and the map with various *meres* (*e.g.*, Whittlesey Mere) in the particular district.

that even so far north as Yorkshire there was a family which claimed the Vandal leader as progenitor.¹

Let me now deal with the names of the British kings said to have been killed at Deorham.

Conmægl ("Great Hound") I strongly suspect to have reigned in Merioneth. His name would be Cynfael in modern Welsh. There is an Afon Gynfael, "Cynfael river", at Ffestiniog, doubtless so called because it flows past the two farms Cynfael Mawr, "Great Cynfael", and Cynfael Bach, "Little Cynfael". Doubtless, also, those farms are called (*more Celtico*) because they belonged to a man named Cynfael. Finally, some seven or eight miles south-west is a "Cynfael's Summer-residence", Hafod Gynfael. It is on the high undulating table-land from which descend the so-called "Roman steps" to Llyn Cwm Bychan, and only half a mile from them. Whether the steps are Roman or not, I have no experience to decide; from their rudeness I should have guessed them to be post-Roman. I believe they were meant to assist the carrying up of supplies from the lowlands, perhaps also from Llanbedr harbour,² and they may have been made by Conmægl himself, or one of his predecessors. The fact that his name is spelt Con- and not Cun-, Cin-, or Cyn-, leads me to suspect that he was a Goidel.

"Condidan" I, with Turner, Villemarqué, and Plummer, believe to represent Kyndylan, who was not really killed till about 584. If a man is carried off the field wounded, his enemies may very easily believe him to be

¹ There was a heathen temple here about 617, but Bede only says "et vocatur *hodie* Godmunddingaham".

² That there was a Roman officer close to Llanbedr harbour is suggested by the fact that inside the walls of the neighbouring church of Llandanwg is a Roman inscription, probably of the third century, of which only the words *equestri nomine* are left.

dead. His domain was in Shropshire, in the region of Viriconium (Wroxeter), and him, too, I believe to be a Goidel. Dr. Gwenogfryn Evans tells me that the celebrated elegy on his death, attributed to the sixth century poet, Llywarch Hen, contains no really old Welsh; but it is difficult to read the English translation (*Four Ancient Books of Wales*, i, 448) without feeling that a sixth century tradition, transmitted either in verse or in prose, underlies the whole of it, and that it may be a later mediaeval recast of a genuine sixth century poem.

Assuming this identification, an earlier Anglo-Saxon form was doubtless Condulan, misread as Condidan. That again suggests that all the Anglo-Saxon chronicles containing this entry descended from a single MS., the exemplar of which employed upright *d*. Had it employed only *ð*, a scribe could hardly misread that *ð* into an *l*. From the Con- I suspect this king also to have been a Goidel. "Dilann" might mean "landless" either in Irish or in Welsh: in Irish also "swordless". The name of his sister Freur, mentioned in the Elegy, is (from its initial *F*) almost certainly not Welsh, and looks like an Irish compound in *fre-*: as Welsh habitually changes *ō* to *ŷ*, I suggest that Freur = *fre* or *fri ór*, "comparable to gold", "Golden".

"Farinmægl"—for which the Parker MS. gives the later form *Farin mail*—represents the Fernmail of Welsh genealogies, and means "[He-of-the] Great Shield". It is, however, Goidelic beyond the smallest doubt, because Nennius (49) gives it as the name of a king then living, and when he wrote (about 796) the initial *V*, which gives *F* in Irish, had become *Gu* in Welsh.¹

Another king Fernmail died in 775 (*Ann. Camb.*), and

¹ In the Elegy itself we have *penngvern* (more correctly *separatim* in *Llys benn gvern*), where *gvern* = original *verno-*, Irish *fern*.

a third was contemporary with Ælfred. All three ruled in South Wales, and, knowing no other instance of the name, I conjecture that the king who was killed at Deorham came from the same region.

POSTSCRIPT.—Since the above was written, Mr. F. M. Stenton, in *The English Historical Review* for October 1905, has proposed to identify “Godmundes leah” with Gumley in Leicestershire: it is found in *Domesday* as Godmundelai and Gutmundeslea,¹ and is about five miles north-west of Market Harborough. If the identification is correct, it suggests a considerable extension of the Vandal leader’s progress in the East Midlands. But I somewhat hesitate to accept it, for the following reasons:—

Of the three charters dated thence,² one is of purely general import, while both the others relate to land in the neighbourhood of Bourton-on-the-Water, in Gloucestershire, and one of them (that of 779) was written at “Iorotla Forda”, said to be “Hartleford, co. Glouc.”, which I guess to be Harford (formerly Hartford), near Slaughter.

Mr. Bradley gravely doubts that in “slohtran ford” we have before us an A. S. form of *slaughter*; since neither W. Saxon nor Mercian should have had the *o*. Still, a ford is just the place where one expects an enemy to

¹ In 1426 “Gromondesley”. The corruption of God- to Got- and Gor- in Geoffrey of Monmouth is well illustrated by these forms, and by “Gorman’s Pond” at Godmanchester (Fox’s *Godmanchester*, 53). Palaeographical confusion is easy between early forms of *od* and *ot*, *ot* and *or*.

² One of 749 has the impossible form “Godmundeslaech”, obviously corrupted from -leah. One of 772 has “Godmundes leas” (pl. of *leah*); it relates to land at Evenlode.

be cut up, and there is also a Slaughterford only five or six miles east of Dyrham.

Whether the invaders marched from Wendlebury on Cirencester by the direct ancient road, or came down on the city by the Foss Way (driving the Britons out of Bourton-on-the-Water and cutting them up at Slaughter), there is little difficulty in realizing the rest of the campaign—especially if we assume that the main road from Bath to Stroud and Gloucester was then existing.

The Britons, driven out of Cirencester, struck for the line of this road, which would enable them to move either north to protect Gloucester, or south to protect Bath. The invaders marched on Bath by the direct ancient road from Cirencester. The Britons on their own line also moved south to Dyrham, five miles north of Bath, where they occupied the ancient camp of which traces remain. A few miles further they would have reached the strong defensive position of Sulisbury Hill, above Bath—but the Saxons marched across from the other road and attacked them. After the battle the Welshmen made for the Aust ferry over the Severn, or for Gloucester, while possibly there was a Wiltshire contingent which made eastward for its own country, and was pursued and cut up at Slaughterford: on the other hand, the latter name may have no connexion with this campaign. The invaders, having occupied Bath, turned north to Gloucester (which probably surrendered without serious resistance), and thus acquired a footing over the mouth of the Severn valley, to be used a little later as the starting-point of a further invasion northwards.

If my suggested derivation of Kyndylan's name is correct, it should apparently be written Con Dilann.

The Brychan Documents.

By A. W. WADE-EVANS.

NOTWITHSTANDING either their supreme value, or even their brevity, it is for the first time that the attempt is now made to print these two tracts with that approximation to accuracy which modern science demands. Indeed, so supreme is their value that this fact would be a marvel and a mystery in the story of historical research, were it not that primarily they are only of Welsh interest, so that (needless to say) no marvel or mystery whatsoever is involved.

The *De situ Brecheniauc* manuscript is supposed to have been written in the early part of the thirteenth century by a scribe ignorant of Welsh, and from a MS. as old at least as the eleventh century.¹ The *Cognacio Brychan* manuscript was written by a seventeenth century hand, apparently from a document of the thirteenth century, as Mr. Phillimore judges from the archaic spelling of Welsh words. This seventeenth century scribe had also before him the actual copy of the *De Situ* which we are using, and from it he adds not only the marginal and interlineal notes which appear in our printed *Cognacio*, but also two pages of transcription not here reproduced. It is clear, therefore, that the two tracts are independent of one another, although

¹ See *I' Cymmrodor*, vol. vii, pp. 105-6, by Mr. Egerton Phillimore ; also, the *Archiv. f. celtische Lexikographie*, ii, 516, etc., by Mr. Alfred Anscombe.

a comparison shews that they are both drawing from some common original, which appears to have been so archaic to somebody, both in matter and expression, that he had to interpret it as best he could, according to the ideas of his own time and place. Their general arrangement is identical, whilst, as Mr. Anscombe has pointed out, they give "the names of Brychan's children in practically the same order".

The monks, who founded the oldest churches in Wales and the Devonian peninsula (which two districts together were known as "Britannia"), were closely connected with the ruling families. Of these, three were chosen as specially prominent and typical, during that period when the triadic method of systematizing knowledge gained acceptance. The Triad reads as follows¹ :—

Tair gwelygordd Saint Cymru : plant Brychan ; a phlant Cunedda Wledig ; a phlant Caw o Brydyn.

The Three Stocks of the Saints of Cymru : the children of Brychan, and the children of Cunedda Wledig, and the children of Caw of Prydyn.

It must be remembered, however, that there were other families besides these, which will be found enumerated in the *Bonedd y Saint*.² In this important document, the family of Cunedda takes a leading place, that of Caw a minor, and that of Brychan no place at all. Into the probable or possible causes of this fact we need not now enter, but a chief cause, or perhaps a chief result, is this, that the House of Brychan has a document of its own, now represented by the *De Situ* and the *Cognacio*. These

¹ Cf., for example, Peniarth MS. 129, fo. 10.

² See *Myvyrian Archæology* (1801), vol. ii, pp. 23-5 ; *I' Cymmrodor*, vii, 133 ; and Anscombe's "Indexes to Old-Welsh Genealogies" in *Archiv. f. celt. Levik.*, ii, 147-196.

two tracts, therefore, rank with the *Bonedd* itself as authority of the first class.

The most striking feature about the traditions of Brychan is the large progeny attributed to him. It has been suggested that there were many Brychans, or that the children enumerated include later generations. Large families, however, are also ascribed to others, such as Caw of Twrkelyn and Clechre,¹ whilst it must be remembered that even as late as the thirteenth century Welsh law made no distinction between children born in and out of wedlock.² This last custom, so repulsive to ecclesiastical ideas, points back to a time when no such distinction existed, even in thought. Indeed, it is a well-established fact that marriage, as we understand it to-day, was not so understood in and before the fifth century in Britannia. There is no need here to refer to such evidence as that of Cæsar, Dion Cassius, the monumental inscriptions, the *Mabinogion*, the Pictish succession, and so forth,³ but attention may be drawn to the evidence afforded by the very important work known as *Epistola Gildæ*, written before 502 A.D.⁴ This epistle opens with an attack on the

¹ See Rees' *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 9.

² Aneurin Owen's *Ancient Laws of Wales*, vol. i, p. 178.

³ See Rhys' and Jones' *Welsh People*, p. 36, etc.; Mr. Willis Bund in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for January 1905; and especially *La Famille Celtique*, by M. d'Arbois de Jubainville (Paris, 1905).

⁴ This *Epistola*, beginning with the words "Reges habet Britannia" in ch. 27, must be carefully distinguished from the preceding twenty-six chapters, which are not by Gildas at all, but constitute a distinct work known as *Excidium Britannicæ*, written by an anonymous "Roman" Britannus, somewhere near the mouth of the Severn, about the year 690. I have dealt with this subject in the *Celtic Review* (Edinburgh), for April, July, and October, 1905, in which last will be found a tentative map of Britannia in Britain from 424-5 (when Vortigern began to reign in S.E. Wales) to 577, the date of the

five leading Kings of Britannia, who were ruling in *cir.* 500, and it is a striking fact that in every case save that of the "Roman", Aurelius Caninus, a specific charge concerned with the violation of the ecclesiastical ideas of matrimony, is brought forward. Constantine of Devon puts away his legitimate wife and is given to successive deeds of adultery. Vortipore of Dyfed, defiled by adulteries, puts away his wife and marries his own daughter, just like Vortigern did in *cir.* 429.¹ Cynlas drives away his wife and meditates marrying her sister, although a nun; and Maelgwn Gwynedd himself, the great head of the House of Cunedda, abandons his first wife and marries that of his nephew, although that nephew is still living. Even Aurelius is ecclesiastically described as "swallowed up in the filth of adulteries", whilst the general charge of polygamy is brought against them all. It has hitherto been the fashion to suppose that these kings were sinners above all others, but in the light of independent and abundant

crushing defeat of the Britanni at Deorham. It will be observed that I differ *in toto* from the view expressed by Prof. Hugh Williams of Bala in his edition of *Gildas* (Cymmrodorion Record Series), a work, however, to which I am exceedingly indebted, and for whose author I have the profoundest admiration and respect. I may also take the present opportunity of protesting against the indiscriminate use of the terms "Goidel" and "Brython" when dealing with the inhabitants of the numerous patrias of Britannia in the immediate post-Roman period. These terms are really only proper to the technical phraseology of modern savants in the domain of *language*, and are worse than useless when used to designate *races*. The consequences are still more grotesque when they are regarded as the names by which the actual men and women in Wales fourteen hundred years ago recognised the patriotic and political groups into which they were divided. Whether members of Vortigern's kingdom in 428 spoke Goidelic or Brythonic they were none the less opposed to invasions by Brythonic speaking Picts (the Cymry), or by Goidelic speaking Scotti from Ireland.

¹ See Mommsen's *Chronica Minora*, iii, 180.

evidence the *Epistola Gildæ* only confirms the fact that the matrimonial arrangements of the fifth century were not those which the Church blessed, but such as defy explanation in terms of the Church's thought on such matters. What may have been adultery and shame to a partisan of a new sect full of foreign ideas, may also have been an honoured custom to those who practised it. Sunday sports, for example, were no doubt highly distasteful to Vicar Pritchard and the new Puritanism, but were at the same time harmless enough to their opponents of the High Church. St. Gildas, like Vicar Pritchard, represented a new movement, that of monasticism, which spread from Gaul and St. Martin of Tours. Whatever the Christianity in Britannia may have been before the fifth century, it certainly was not that of Gildas. And although this ascetic movement from Gaul effected in Wales as mighty a change as Methodism did a millennium and a quarter later, yet the Laws of Hywel testify that there prevailed throughout Wales, at least as late as the eleventh century, matrimonial institutions which were notoriously opposed to the ideas of the Church.

We have seen that Welsh law made no distinction between children born in and out of wedlock, but far more vital than this is the fact that the dissolution of marriage ties is incredibly easy. "Practically, either husband or wife might separate whenever one or both chose."¹ And if all this prevailed in the Wales of the eleventh century and later, surely the *milieu* of the fifth century must be to us singularly strange.

We must, therefore, be prepared to find underlying these two tracts archaic matters concerned with marriage and descent. We must be prepared to find late scribes en-

¹ Rhys' and Jones' *Welsh People*, 212.

deavouring to explain the inexplicable according to their own ideas. They will be obviously astonished at the number of children attributed to Brychan, and we shall see them tripping in making three wives out of the three forms of the one name, Prawst. They will, of course, explain the birth of Cynog as illegitimate, whose descent from Banadylfed is too historical to deny, and on which perhaps depend certain rights pertaining to Cynog's foundations. The story of Marchell will be also perplexing, questions arising at every step. Why did she leave her own patria to find a husband? Why did royal Anlach quit his own realm? Why was it that Marchell's son inherited the kingdom? Explanations will be given, and the actual facts perhaps distorted, for us to dispute about and to trip miserably in our turn.

All this places the question of the numerous progeny of Brychan in a new light. And, under its influence, we ought to hesitate considerably before making this or that assumption in order to get rid of a very perplexing difficulty. It is with this as with every other historic tradition; until it can be disproved in a truly scientific way it must be accepted as a fact.

I regret that owing to the extreme length of the lines in the *De Situ* we have been compelled to resort to the upright stroke to indicate the points where they begin and end. For a similar reason we have also been compelled to divide some of the lines in the *Cognacio*. The figure in the right margin is the number of that line which contains the particular word opposite it.

Ty Rhós, Fishguard.

TEXTS.

DE SITV BRECHENIAVC.

[*British Museum. Cottonian Collection. Vespasian A, xiv, 10b-11b.*]

BRECHENIAVC: ' primum a Brachano DE SITV 1
BRECHENIAVC | nomen accepit . In initio temporum: ' 2
erat Teuderic rex illius regionis | Qui quondam uenit in 3
Garth matrum indeque perrexit cum ducibus et senio- |
ribus nec non et omni familia sua abiitque ad Bran coyn 4
iuxta Lann | Maies . Teuderic uero dixit ad Marchel filiam 5
suam . Algozif uis aprime nos | affligit . Quamobrem 6
opereprecium est: ' quatinus pelliciam uestem nate mee
conquiramus | ne ipsa frigozif asperitate grauetur . transmit- 7
tam enim eam in hiberniam cum tre- | centis hominibus ad 8
Anlac filium Cozonac regem illius patrie que sibi maritetur . |
Profecta est igitur Marchel cum trecentis hominibus in 9
Lan Semin: ' ibidemque prima | nocte per frigozif grauedine. 10
c . homines mortui sunt . Secunda uero nocte uenit in |
Methrum: ' illoque totidem quot superius exspirauerunt. 11
Tercia quidem nocte descen- | dit in Port Maur: ' in loco 12
scilicet apriciozi . Deinceps autem cum . c . uiris | sibi 13
relictis ad hiberniam transfretauit: ' et ad Anlac regem
eiusdem patrie cum suis | incolumis peruenit . Qui cum 14
magno tripudio et leticia illam suscipiens: ' | in legitimam 15
coniugem eandem sibi desponsauit . illi iusiurandum prebens. |
si eidem filium peperisset: ' cum eadem Britanniam remearet . 16
ne uidelicet puer | patrio regno Britannie priuaretur . 17
Idem uero Anlach dedit . xii . cubiculariis | suis siue pedis- 18
sequas uiris unamquamque iuxta dignitatem natalium
suorum . | Postea uero Marchel peperit filium: ' uocauitque 19
eum Brachan . Regressus | est ergo Anlach cum Marchel 20
Regina et Brachan puero . et ducibus sub- | scriptis . Kerniol . 21
et Alio Fernach . Inde dicitur Enifernach . Tercio Lith

mi | lich . Jnde dicitur Maiuaur oper birnich. Quarto 22
 Lounoic . Natus est Brachan | in Benni : directusque est 23
 ad Drichan . Jnde dicitur Din Drichan . Jpse autem
 Drichan : | educauit Brachan . Jnde ducitur Brachan 24
 Brecheniauc : cum . iiiior. annos | etatis haberet . Jn . vii^o. 25
 uero anno dixit Drichan ad Brachan . Affer mihi lan- | ceam 26
 meam ad me. Drichan autem in fine etatis sue cecus factus
 est Et dum idem | uigilans iacisset . quidam aper uenit 27
 de filia stetitque iuxta ripam flu | minis Jschir . Ceruusque 28
 retrosum erat in flumine necnon sub uenire | cerui piscis 29
 erat que tria portendebant Brachan opulentie copia |
 felicem futurum . Adhuc etiam fagus secus fluminis predicti 30
 litus stabat . inqua | mellificabant apes . Dixitque Drichan 31
 alumpno suo Brachan . Ecce hanc | arbozem de apibus et 32
 melle . auro quoque et argento plenam do tibi . et gratia dei |
 eiusque dilectio tecum maneat semper hic et infuturo. 33
 Postea uero Anlach | dedit filium suum Brachan regi powis 34
 obfidem . Deinceps uero successu tem- | potis Brachan 35
 oppressit Banadlinet filiam Benadel . Jlla autem pregnant : |

fol. 11 a.

genuit filium nomine kynauc . Qui deuctus ad castra bap- 1
 tiza tus est Quo | facto Brachan accepta armilla abrachio suo 2
 dedit illam kynauc | filio suo . Iste sanctus kynauc celebris est 3
 ualde in patria sua Brecheniauc . | Ipsaque armilla . usque in 4
 presens perpreciosis reliquiis in predicta prouincia | seruatur. 5
Hec est genealogia sancti kynauc filii Brachan . Brachan |
 filius Marchel . Marchel filia Teuderic . Teuderic filius 6
 Teudfall . Teudfall | filius Teuder . filius Teudfal . Teudfal 7
 filius Annhun rex grecorum . **H**ec sunt | nomina filiorum 8
 Brachan de Brecheniauc . Rein filius Brachan . Clýtguin.
 filius | Brachan . qui inuasit totam terram Sudgwalliæ. 9
 Clýdouc sanctus . et Dedýu sanctus filii | illius Clýtguein. 10
 Arthen filius Brachan . Papay . filius Brachan . Kýnon.
 filius Brachan . | qui sanctus est in occidentali parte predictæ 11

i. Jn agere lacuf caltionif
 filia | Brachan . ygruge goſf auail . kein . filia Brachan 34
 . i. Jn bifurgatione illius fluij .
 ythraul ogmoz . | keneſthon filia Brachan . Jn y minid 35
 cheuoꝝ Jn Kedweli . Clýdei . filia |

fo. 11 b.

. i. Jnangleſe

Brachan est Jn Emelin . Duyn . filia Brachan est Jn Monia . 1
 Jlud . filia | Brachan ¶ Sepulchrum Brachan : est Jninsula 2
 que uocatur enyſbrachan . | que est iuxta Manniam . ¶ Sepul- 3
 chrum Rein filii Brachan . Jn Landeuailac . | ¶ Sepulcrum 4
 k(a)nauc . Merthir Jn Brecheniauc . ¶ Sepulcrum . | An- 5
 lauch . ante hoſtium eccleſie Lanefpetit . ¶ Tref uxoreſ
 habuit | Brachan . Prauſt ſcilicet . et Ribrauſt . et Proiftri . | 6
 Hec est progenieſ . keredic Regif de keredigan . Dewi filius 7
 Sant . | Sant filii keredic . filii Cuneda . Auan buelh . filius 8
 kedic . filii eiusdem | keredic . Pedýr Lanwaur . filius 9
 Corin . filii keredic . kenider Gell . | filius kŷnon . filii kere- 10
 dic . Gunlýu filius Guaur . filie keredic . Gugan | Cledy- 11
 burdh filius Lauch filii Lucho . filii kedich . filii keredic .
 Jna . filia | keredic . karānouc filius keredic . Dýuennen . 12
 filius Anhun . filii keredic . | keneu ſanctus filii Corun filii 13
 keredic . Gugan filius Samfon . filii keredic . | Dogmael 14
 ſanctus filius Jthaeil . filius keredic . Tydiuc ſanctus filius
 Corun filii keredic .

COGNACIO BRYCHAN.

[British Museum. Cottonian, Domitian I.]

fo. 157 b.

Cognacio Brychan vnde brecheynia

we dicta est pars demetie . i . futh Wallie

Teudric Rex in Garthmathrím venit vsque ad 3
 Bryncoyn iuxta Lanmaes cum ducibus et ſenioribus et
 omni familia ſua habens vnicam filiam nomine Marchel
 cui et dixit . Timeo de ſalute tua propter infantem 6
 Peſtilentiam que aggrauat nos ad quam vitandam dicta

- Marchel habuit quasi perizoma de corio animalis . opinio enim
erat quod quicumque circumdaret lumbos suos corio 9
alias propter
animal[is] quod vitaret interitum ex pestilencia propterea
frigus
proficiscere in hiberniam si forte respiciat deus votum
meum ut queas vivere. Et assignavit pater Sibi 12
trecentos homines et xij puellas filias Architiellini
vice pedissequarum qui omnes conducerent eandem illuc.
Pergens autem Marchell prima nocte recepit hospitium 15
apud llanfemyn et mortui sunt ibi illa nocte
Centum homines . que mane surrexit execrans locum sedis
illius profecta est anxia tam de periculo quam de verecundia 18
alias Methrum
et secunda nocte peruenit in Madrum et sicut prius mortui
funt ibi Centum homines. Mane quantocius surgens
Porth mawr loco videlicet apriciori
tercia nocte in Porthmaur et internicie hominum vitata 21
cum Centum hominibus et pedissequis suis venit in
hiberniam cuius aduentu comperto occurrit ei
Anlach filius Gornuc Rex loci illius cum nullo 24
apparatu sicut decuit regem. Et causa adventus
illius cognita beatus est Rex Anlach et
suscepit eam in coniugium tum propter pulcritu- 27
dinem tum propter cognacionem eius quia filia Regis
Et iuravit Rex Anlach quod cum ea rediret
in britanniam si filium de ea posset suscipere 30
Et maritaliuit Rex Anlach dictas xij^{cem}
alias xij cubicularijs suis fo. 158a.
puellas tradens vnamquamque earum matrimonio Et factum
est per
circulum dierum ut marchell conaperet et peperit filium cui
pater
imposuit nomen Brachan. Cum vero Brachan esset 3
duorum annorum adduxerunt eum parentes eius in Britan-
niam et

morati sunt in Benny. Et suscepit puerum Drichan
 nutriendum et fuit cum eo vij annis. Postea orta guerra inter 6
 Reges dedit eum pater suus obsidem regi de Powys nomine
 Banadyl quo dum moram traheret oppressit filiam dicti regis
 vocatam Banadylued que concepit et peperit filium quem 9
 fecit deportari ad sanctum Gastayn cuius nunc ecclesia sita est
 iuxta maram qui baptizavit eum vocatus nomen eius
 Kynaucum Cognouerunt autem omnes ex peleo et armilla quo 12
 erat indutus Kynauc quod filius Brichan erat. Hec gene-
 ologia

eius Kynaucus filius brachan filij Anlach filij Gornuc
 filij eurbre de hibernia et hoc ex parte patris. Ex parte 15
 matris brichan filius Marchel filie Teudric filij

teudfall Teudeic Teudfall Annhun
 Teithphal filij Teithrin filij Tathal filii Annun nigri
 regis grecorum. Postea succrescente Brachan virtutibus 18
 quieuit bellum et pax inter reges reformata est. Aliquanto

temporis interuallo mortuus est pater eius Anlach
 Qui dum aspiraret ad regnum parentum conuenit cum 21

nobilioribus regni de hereditate sua habenda Qui
 videntes industriam elegantiam generositatem tantam
 in eo fulgentem fullimauerunt eum in regem Qui cum 24
 nobilitate rexisset et fumino moderamine regnum adeptum
 disposuisset copulauit sibi tres vxores succeffiue

alias Prawft
 quarum nomina sunt hec Eurbrauft Rybrauft et Proeftri 27
 de quibus magnam sobolem procreauit videlicet xiiij^{cem}
 filios quorum nomina sunt hec . Kynauc . Reín . Vrem.

alias Clitguin
 Rud qui post patrem suum regnauit Clytwyn 30
 orefgynnaud deheubarth Qui pater erat sanctorum

fo. 158b.

Clydauc et dettu. Arthen qui erat pater kynon
 qui est in manan Papay Run ipse sanctus ycallet in
 manan Marthaerun apud Keueilauc. Vingat apud 3

- llandeuery qui erat pater pascunt. Kyfliuer ab eo dicitur
 Merthyr Kyfliuer Berwyn apud Cornubiam. Ridoc
 gwindouut in francia inde dicitur collis Ridoc gwindouut. 6
 Et xxiiij^{or} filias quarum nomina sunt h[ec]. Gluadis filia
 Brachan
 vxor gwenlluc filij glywys cornubienfis mater
 sancti Cadoci Glov yn llann hefkyn ninctis tutwal 9
 pefir Mater cunin Cof Tutbiftyl ab ea dicitur Merthyr
 Tutbytil Tvtuil ab ea dicitur Merthyr Tutuil. Tebie
 apud yftrayowy. Keyngair mater mater kenyder fant 12
 Meleri vxor keretici patris sancti dauit Tuglit vxor
 Kyngain mater Cadell Arganwen apud Powys
 Bechan apud manav lluan mater Aidan Grutauc 15
 et mater gafran vradave kerdech apud llandegwin
 Nyuen vxor kynuarch filius Meirchyavn.
 Gwawr vxor lledan wyn mater llywarth henn 18
 Grucon guedu vxor cradauc calch uenit.
 Marchell vxor gurgeynt Elyuet in monte gorfauael
 que pro amore castitatis martirizata est Gwenn apud 21
 Talgarth Koneidon apud Kydwely in monte Kyfor
 Kein Breit apud teraflogur Cledei apud Emlyn
 Vndin apud moniam Jnfulam Kenedlon apud mynyd 24
 Kymorth
 Grichan iacet in mynav in valle que dicitur vall[is]
 Brehan. Anllach iacet ante hostium ecclesie llanyfpydyt
 Reyn filius brichan iacet apud llanvayloc. Sepulchrum 27
 Kynauc in Merthyr Kynauc in Brecheiniawc.
-

TRANSLATIONS.

THE SITUATION OF BRECHENIAUC.

Brecheniauc received its name first from Brachan. In the beginning, Teuderic was king of that district. He formerly came to Garthmatrun, and from there proceeded with chiefs and elders and all his *familia*, and went to Brancoyn, near Lann Maies. And Teuderic said to Marchell, his daughter, "The severity of the cold afflicts us exceedingly. Wherefore it is worth the trouble to procure for my daughter a fur garment, however far we may search, lest she should be overcome with the rigour of the cold. For I will send her across into Hibernia with three hundred men to Anlac, son of Coronac, king of that country, that she may be married to him." Marchell therefore set forth with three hundred men for Lan Semin, and there on the first night a hundred men died from the intensity of the cold. And on the second night she came to Methrum, and there as many died as on the former occasion. And on the third night she went down to Port Maur, a place which was much warmer. And then with the hundred men left to her, she sailed across to Hibernia, and came in safety with her followers to Anlac, king of that country. He received her with much dancing and joy, and betrothed her to himself to be his lawful wife, giving her an oath that if she should bear him a son, he would return with her to Brittannia, that the boy might not be deprived of his ancestral kingdom in Brittannia. And the said Anlach gave waiting-women in marriage to his twelve chamberlains or men, to each a damsel apiece, according to the dignity of their birth. And afterwards Marchell brought forth a son and called him Brachan. Anlach therefore returned with Queen

Marchell and the boy Brachan, and the following chiefs : Kerniol ; and secondly, Fernach, from whom Enifernach is named ; thirdly, Lith milich, from whom is named Maiuawr oper birnich ; fourthly, Lounoic. Brachan was born in Benni, and was sent to Drichan, from whom is named Din Drichan. And it was this Drichan who brought up Brachan (from whom is derived [the expression] Brachan Brecheniauc) when he was four years of age. And in his seventh year Drichan said to Brachan, "Bring me my lance." Now Drichan, towards the close of his life, became blind. And as he lay awake, a certain boar came from the wood and stood near the bank of the river Ischir. And behind it in the river was a stag, and under the stag's belly a fish, which three things portended that Brachan would be fortunate in abundance of wealth. Moreover, there was a beech tree standing on the side of the said river, in which bees were making honey, and Drichan said to Brachan, his charge, "Behold, I give thee this tree full of bees and honey, and also of silver and gold, and may the grace of God and his love abide with thee always, here and hereafter." And after this Anlach gave his son Brachan as hostage to the king of Powys, and afterwards, in process of time, Brachan violated Banadlinet, the daughter of Benadel. And she became pregnant and bore a son, Kynauc by name, who was carried to the *caer* and baptized. After this, Brachan took a torque from his arm and gave it to his son Kynauc. That saint Kynauc is very celebrated in his own *patria* of Brecheniauc, and that torque is preserved to the present time in the said province among its most precious relics. This is the genealogy of saint Kynauc the son of Brachan ; Brachan son of Marchell ; Marchell daughter of Teuderic ; Teudiric son of Teudfall ; Teudfall son of Teuder, son of Teudfal ; Teudfal son of Annhun, king of the Greeks.

These are the names of the sons of Brachan of Brecheniauc ; Rein son of Brachan ; Clytguin son of Brachan, who invaded the whole country of South Wales ; saint Clydouc and saint Dedyu, sons of that Clytguein ; Arthen son of Brachan ; Papay son of Brachan ; Kynon son of Brachan, who is a saint in the western part of the said Mannia ; Dynigat son of Brachan ; Paschen son of Brachan ; Chybliuer son of Brachan, from whom is named Merthyr Chebliuer ; Berwin son of Brachan in Corwallia ; Rydoch (*i.e.* Judoc) son of Brachan in Francia, from whom is named Ton Ridoch Windouith (*i.e.* eurus de vent).

Of the daughters of Brachan : Gladus daughter of Brachan and mother of saint Cadoc ; Tudenel daughter of Brachan, in Merthir Euineil ; Goleu daughter of Brachan in Laneschin ; Hunyd daughter of Brachan, who lies under the stone of Meltheu and was wife of Tudual Flauus [*viz.* Pefr] and mother of Cunin Cof (*i.e.* memory) ; Tudhistil daughter of Brachan, from whom is named Merthir Tudhistil ; Tibyei, daughter of Brachan, in Cantrebochan ; Kehingayr daughter of Brachan, mother of Saint Kenider of Glesbyri ; Meleri daughter of Brachan, wife of Keredic and mother of Sant, and Sant was the father of Saint David ; Tutglid daughter of Brachan, wife of Kenken son of Kenwaur Cadcathuc and mother of Cadel and Brochuail schitrauc (*i.e.* with teeth) and mother of Jeuab and mother of Meigh and mother of Sanand which Sanant was wife of Mahelgun King of North Wales ; Aranwen daughter of Brachan in Powis wife of Gereuerth King of Powis, from whom is the name Joruerthiaun ; Bethan daughter of Brachan in Mannia ; Luan daughter of Brachan, mother of Haidan Bradouc (*i.e.* treacherous) ; Kerdych daughter of Brachan who lies in Tywin in Merioneth ; Nyuein daughter of Brachan, wife of Kennarch cul son of Meirchiaun, mother of [Urien (*text very corrupt, Anscombe reads as follows*) and

Euerdil, wife of Elidir Coscoruaur, *i.e.* of great retinue, and mother of Gurgi and Peredur and Estedich]; Guaur, daughter of Brachan wife of Lidanwen and mother of Loarch Hen (*i.e.* old); Gurycon Godheu daughter of Brachan, wife of Cathraut Calchuynid; Marchell daughter of Brachan, wife of Gurind barmbtruch (*i.e.* of the truncated beard) of Merionyth; Guen daughter of Brachan in Talgarth; Belyau daughter of Brachan; Eiliueth daughter of Brachan in Crug Gors Anail (*i.e.* the Mound of the Holding's Mere?); Kein daughter of Brachan in the holding of the Ogmor (*i.e.* within the two branches of that river); Keneython daughter of Brachan in the mountain of Ceuor in Kedweli; Clydei daughter of Brachan is in Emelin; Duyn daughter of Brachan is in Monia (*i.e.* in Anglesey); Jlund daughter of Brachan.

The tomb of Brachan is in the island which is called Enysbrachan, which is near Mannia. The tomb of Rein the son of Brachan [is] in Landeuailac. The tomb of Kanauc [is] Merthir [Cynog] in Brecheniauc. The tomb of Anlauch [is] before the door of the church of Lanespetit. Brachan had three wives, to wit, Praust, Ribraust, and Proistri.

This is the progeny of Keredic, king of Keredigan: Dewi son of Sant; Sant son of Keredic son of Cunedda; Auan buellh son of Kedic son of the same Keredic: Pedyr Lanwaur, son of Corin son of Keredic; Kenider Gell son of Kynon son of Keredic; Gunlyu son of Guaur daughter of Keredic; Gugan Cledyburdh son of Lauch son of Luchu son of Kedich son of Keredic; Jna daughter of Keredic; Karanouc son of Keredic; Dyuennen son of Anhun son of Keredic; Saint Keneu son of Corun son of Keredic; Gugan son of Samson son of Keredic; Saint Dogmael son of Jthaeil son of Keredic; saint Tydiuc son of Corun son of Keredic.

THE FAMILY OF BRYCHAN.

The Family of Brychan, from whom was named Brecheyniawc, a part of Demetia, that is, South Wales.

Teudric, king in Garthmathrim, came as far as Bryncoyn, near Lanmaes, with chiefs and elders, and all his *familia*, having an only daughter, Marchell by name, to whom he said, "I fear concerning thy safety, because of the present pestilence which afflicts us"—to avoid which the said Marchell had a kind of girdle made of the skin of an animal, for there was an opinion that whosoever should place the skin of an animal round his loins, would escape death from pestilence—"Wherefore start out for Hibernia if perchance God should respect my wish that thou mayst live." And her father assigned to her three hundred men and twelve maidens, daughters of the *architriclinus*, as attendants, all of whom accompanied her thither. And as Marchell was on her journey, she was entertained the first night at Llansemyn, and that night a hundred men died there. In the morning she arose cursing the place of that habitation, and started forth fretting with the sense of danger and remorse, and on the second night she arrived at Madrum, and as on the former occasion a hundred men died there. In the morning she arose as quickly as possible, and on the third night arrived at Porthmaur, and the death of her men having been avoided, she came with her hundred men and her attendants to Hibernia. When her arrival was discovered, there met her Anlach, son of Gormac, king of that place, with a great following, as became a king. And when the reason of her arrival was known, King Anlach was glad, and took her to be his wife, both on account of her beauty and on account of her lineage, she being a king's daughter. And King Anlach vowed that he would

return with her to Britannia if she bore him a son. And King Anlach wedded the said twelve maidens, giving away each one of them in marriage. And it happened in the course of time that Marchell conceived and brought forth a son, to whom the father gave the name of Brachan. Now when Brachan was two years old, his parents brought him to Britannia and they sojourned at Benny. And Drichan took the boy to be fostered, and he was with him seven years. Afterwards a war arose between the kings, and his father gave him as hostage to the King of Powys whose name was Banadyl; where during his sojourn he violated the daughter of the said king, whose name was Banadylued. She conceived and brought forth a son, whom he caused to be carried to saint Gastayn, whose church is now situated by Mara. He baptized him and called his named Kynauc. Now all knew that he was Brichan's son from the cap and torque with which Kynauc had been vested. This is his pedigree: Kynauc son of Brachan son of Anlach son of Gornuc son of Eurbre of Hibernia, and so far on the father's side. On the mother's, Brichan son of Marchell daughter of Teudric son of Teithphal son of Teithrin son of Tathal son of Annun the Black, King of the Greeks. Afterwards, when Brachan was increasing in virtues, the war ceased and peace was restored between the kings. After some time his father Anlach died, who while Brychan was aspiring to the kingdom of his parents, assembled the nobles of his kingdom to discuss concerning his succession. They, beholding so much diligence, grace and nobleness shining in [Brachan], raised him to be king. Whilst he was reigning with lustre and ordering the kingdom which he had received, with greatest care, he married three wives in succession, whose names are these: Eurbraust, Rybraust and Proestri, from whom he had a large progeny; to wit, thirteen sons, whose names

are these: Kynauc; Rein Vrem Rud, who reigned after his father; Clytwyn, *the conqueror of the Deheubarth* [South Wales], who was the father of the saints Clydauc and Dettu; Arthen, who was the father of Kynon, who is in Manan; Papay; Run, himself a saint *ycallet* (?) in Manan; Marthaerun in Keveilauc; Vingat in Llandeuary, who was father of Pascent; Kyfliuer, from whom is called Merthyr Kyfliuer; Berwyn in Cornubia; Ridoc Gwindout in Francia, whence is named the Hill of Ridoc Gwindout. Also twenty-four daughters, whose names are these: Gluadis daughter of Brachan, wife of Gwenlluc, son of Glywys Cornubiensis and mother of St. Cadoc; Gloyv in Llanheskyn; [Hunyd wife of] Tutwal Pefir and mother of Cunin Cof; Tutbistyl, from whom is named Merthyr Tutbystil; Tvtuil, from whom is named Merthyr Tutuil; Tebie in Ystrad Towi; Keyngair mother of St. Kenyder; Meleri wife of Keretic, father of St. David; Tuglit wife of Kyngain mother of Cadell; Arganwen in Powys; Bechan in Manav; Lluan mother of Aidan Grutauc and mother of Gafran Vradave; Kerdech in Llandegwin; Nyuen wife of Kynvarch son of Meirchyavn; Gwawr wife of Lledan Wyn mother of Llywarch Hen; Grucon Guedu wife of Cradauc Calchvenit; Marchell wife of Gurgeynt; Elyuet in Mount Gorsauael who was martyred for the love of chastity; Gwen in Talgarth; Koneidon in Kydwely on the mountain of Kyfor; Keinbreit in the holding of the Ogur; Cledei in Emlyn; Vndin in the island of Monia; Kenedlon on *Mount Kymorth*.

Grichan lies in Mynav, in the valley which is called the valley of Brchan. Anllach lies before the door of the church of Llanyspydyt. Reyn son of Brichan lies in Llanvayloc. The tomb of Kynauc is in Merthyr Kynauc in Brecheiniawe.

NOTES.

A.—THE SONS OF BRYCHAN.

The three leading authorities, *i.e.* the *De Situ*, the *Cognacio* and *Llewelyn Offeiriad* (Jesus College MS. 20 in *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. viii) agree as to the following eight sons:—

1. KYNAUC the saint of Merthyr Cynog.
2. REIN DREMURD who succeeded his father [cf. Cair Rein = Aconbury Hill, in Herefordshire, *Bk. of Llandav*].
3. CLYTGUIN conqueror of the Deheubarth [cf. Llanglydwyn in West Carmarthenshire] father of
 - (a) ST. CLYDAUC [Clodock on R. Munnow in Herefordshire].
 - (b) ST. DETTU [Llandetty on R. Usk in Breconshire].
4. ARTHEN [cf. Llanarthen, west of Marshfield in S.W. Monmouthshire].
5. PAPAY.
6. DYNIGAT in Llandovery [cf. also Merthir Dincat = Dingestow (Mon.), *Bk. of Llandav*].
7. BERWIN in "Cornwallia".
8. RYDOC in "Francia", etc.

They disagree as to the following three names which, however, they all regard as those of Brychanites:—

9. KYNON [ap Brychan *D.S.* and *L.O.*; ap Arthen *Cog.*]
10. PASCENT [ap Brychan *D.S.*; ap Dingat *Cog.* and *L.O.*]
11. CYFLIFER [ap Brychan *D.S.* and *Cog.*; ap Dingat *L.O.*]

Both the *Cognacio* and *Llewelyn* introduce these two additional names, which I leave unnumbered:—

MARTHAERUN *Cog.* or MARCHARAIRJUN *L.O.* in
Cyfeiliog.

RUN *Cog.* or RUNAN *L.O.* in Manan or Manaw.

It will be observed that the three documents are agreed in giving Brychan *eleven sons*, which certainly echoes a fixed tradition, as in the case of the *twenty-four daughters*. It is true that the *De Situ* enumerates twenty-five by the introduction of an otherwise unknown “Belyau”, but on the other hand we shall see both the *Cognacio* and *Llewelyn* faking names of their own in order to complete the twenty-four, whilst in addition we have it on the authority of Giraldus Cambrensis that the traditions of the twelfth century ascribed to Brychan twenty-four daughters, and this in the Brychan district itself (Gerald’s *Itinerary through Wales*, Bk. i, ch. 2). The first point, therefore, to note is that our scribes were constrained to give *eleven* names to represent the sons. Of these eleven names, they all agree as to eight, and we note further that they all agree in regarding Kynon, Pascent and Cyflifer as Brychanites. If these last are sons, our difficulty is solved and the eleven complete, but here the trouble begins. For the *Cognacio* and *Llewelyn* add two names which are absent in the *De Situ*. In other words, whereas they all agree in regarding Kynon, Pascent and Cyflifer as Brychanites, the *De Situ* which represents the oldest tradition, makes no mention whatever of Marthaerun or Marcharairjun and Run or Runan, whom the later documents introduce. Again, whereas the *De Situ* makes Kynon, Pascent and Cyflifer to be all sons of Brychan, thus completing the eleven, the *Cognacio* and *Llewelyn* only agree as to Pascent, whom they describe as son of Dingad ap Brychan. In order to find room for Marthaerun and Run, and at the

same time remain faithful to the tradition of eleven sons, one makes Kynon a grandson, and the other insists on Cyflifer. It looks, therefore, as though Marthaerun and Run are intruders, who have entirely usurped the place of Pascent and partially that of Cynon and that of Cyflifer.

Marthaerun apud Keueilauc or Marcharairjun ygkeuailyawc clearly suggests that there was a foundation of some kind called after such a person in Cyfeiliog, which was a commote comprising roughly the parishes of Machynlleth Llanwrin, Cemes, Darowen, Penegos, Llanbrynmair and Caereinion fechan on either side of the R. Dyfi in the extreme W. of Montgomeryshire. Has any such foundation ever been discovered in this district? I believe that Mathafarn in the parish of Llanwrin is generally taken to be the place intended. But Mathafarn is certainly not the name of a person, and, as far as I know, is associated with no ancient ecclesiastical foundation whatsoever. Moreover the connection between such forms as Marthaerun, Marcharairjun or Marcharanhun and Mathafarn is parallel with such identifications as Martletwy and St. Marcellus, Lamphey and St. Faith, and other similar abominations.

Our forms appear to point back to some original Marth . r . . . n in which we may perhaps see a familiar type of place name peculiarly associated with the Brychan traditions, viz., that commencing with Merthyr. With the above, for example, compare such a name as Marther Geryn in the *Book of Llandav*, where Marther represents Martyrium, *i.e.* a shrine for the preservation of relics,¹ and where Geryn is a personal name. If this suggestion proves right, we may perhaps see the personal

¹ See the first essay on the Gildas question in the *St. David's College Magazine*, p. 13 (December 1904), where this explanation of merthyr was apparently put forward for the first time.

name of our supposed Marther in the Run or Runan whom *Cog.* and *L.O.* also introduce into the list of Brychan's sons, and who may be no other than Rein, whose *sepulchrum* was at Llandyfaelog.

Certain references in these documents to the obscure localities "Cornwallia", "Francia", and particularly "Mannia, Manan or Manau", have provided evidence for the presence of Brychanites in Cornwall, France, the Isle of Man, and Manau Guotodin in Southern Scotland. On this basis, also, the theory has been advanced that there were many Brychans, so that nowadays our hero is undergoing the treatment formerly meted out to St. Gildas ap Caw o Priten. With this we are given a companion theory that the eleven sons and twenty-four daughters really comprise grand- and great grand-children. One hardly wonders, therefore, at the impatience even of a scholar like Professor Hugh Williams of the Bala who does not hesitate to refer to Brychan's "mythical progeny" and to describe them as "shadowy beings".¹ Now there appears to be other evidence for the presence of Brychanites in the Devonian Peninsula and in Ireland, but "Francia" or "infrancia", and "Manau", both want watching.

The reference to the former is in the curious note which deals with Rydoc or Iudoc:—

infrancia inde dicitur ton Ridoch Windouith (*i.e.*
eurus de vent). *D.S.*

gwindout in francia inde dicitur collis Ridoc gwindout. *Cog.*

yn freink yny lle a elwir twmbreidoc oe enw ef. *L.O.*
Fortunately this place is almost undoubtedly referred

¹ Williams' *Gildas* (Cymmrodorion Record Series), p. 27.

to in the *Mirabilia* of Nennius (*Chronica Minora*, iii, 215) where we read as follows:—

Est aliud mirabile in regione quæ vocatur Guent. Est ibi fovea a qua ventus inflat per omne tempus sine intermissione et quando non flat ventus in tempore aestatis, de illa fovea incessanter flat ut nemo possit sustinere neque ante foveae profunditatem. Et vocatur nomen eius Vith Guint Brittannico sermone, Latine autem flatio venti. Magnum mirabile est ventus de terra flare.

“There is another wonderful thing in the region which is called Gwent. There is there a pit from which the wind blows at all times without intermission, and when in summer time no wind blows, yet from that pit it blows incessantly, so that no one is able to stand up before the mouth of the pit. It is called *Chryth Gwynt* in the Brittannic speech, and in Latin *flatio venti* [the blowing of the wind]. It is a very wonderful thing that wind should blow out of the ground”.

It is clear that the Hill of Rydoc, the son of Brychan, is somewhere near Chwyth Gwynt, wherever that may be. I very much regret that I have been unable to identify the spot, but when found it will hardly fail to assist us in the elucidation of this difficulty of “*infrancia*”.

B.—THE DAUGHTERS OF BRYCHAN.

Our three authorities are agreed as to all the married daughters of Brychan, eleven in number:—

1. GLADUS wife of Gwynllwg and mother of St. Cadoc.
2. HUNYD wife of Tudwal Pefr and mother of St. Cynin.
3. KEHINGAYR mother of St. Cynidr of Glasebury.
4. MELERI wife of Ceredig [Cedig?], mother of Sant, St. David's father.
5. TUTGLID wife of Kenken son of Kenwaur Cad-cathuc, mother of Cadell, etc.
6. ARANWEN in Powys, wife of Iorwerth Hirflawdd, whence Iorwerthion.

7. LUAN mother of Aidan Bradouc.
8. NYUEIN wife of Cynfarch Cul, mother of Urien.
9. GUAUR wife of [Elidyr] Llydanwyn, mother of Llywarch Hen.
10. GURYCON GODHEU wife of Cadrod Calchfynydd.
11. MARCHELL wife of Gwrin Barfdrwch of Meirionydd.

They are also agreed as to the following nine unmarried daughters :—

12. TUDEVEL in Merthyr Tydvil [and Llysworney. Cf. also Hafod Tydvil in the Gwaun valley, N. Pem.]
13. TUDHISTIL in Merthyr Tudhistil [wherever this may be. Cf. Llanawstl in Machen (Monmouthshire) *C-B. SS.*, 607.]
14. TIBYEI in Llandybie, Carmarthenshire [also Lamphey (Pem.), etc.]
15. KERDYCH at Towyn in Merioneth.
16. GUEN in Talgarth.
17. KEIN in Llangeinor, Glam. [This is Kein Wryr', or Keyne the Virgin of Keynsham (Somerset), Kentchurch (Herefordshire), etc].
18. KENEYTHON in Ilangynheiddon on Mt. Cyfor at Kidweli.
19. CLYDEI in Clydey in Emlyn, N.E. Pem.
20. DUYN in Anglesey at Llanddwyn.

The following four appear in at least two of our authorities :—

21. GOLEU in Laneschin [cf. Glan Hesgyn in Llanfair Culgudden (Monmouthshire), *C-B. SS.*, 607. *L.O.* appears to have this name erroneously prefixed to Hunyd under the form Goleudyd gwreic Tutwawl Beper].

22. EILIUETH on the hill, once known as Cruc Gors Auail near Brecon. [Gerald's *Itinerary*, i, 2. *L.O.*'s Felis may represent this saint.]
23. BETHAN in Mannia. [*D.S.* and *Cog.*]
24. ILUD in Llanilid, Rhuthyn, Glam. [*D.S.* and *L.O.*]

The following, which I leave unnumbered, only appear in one of our three authorities, and with the exception of Belyau are clearly intended to complete the traditional number of twenty-four.

BELYAU. *D.S.* only.

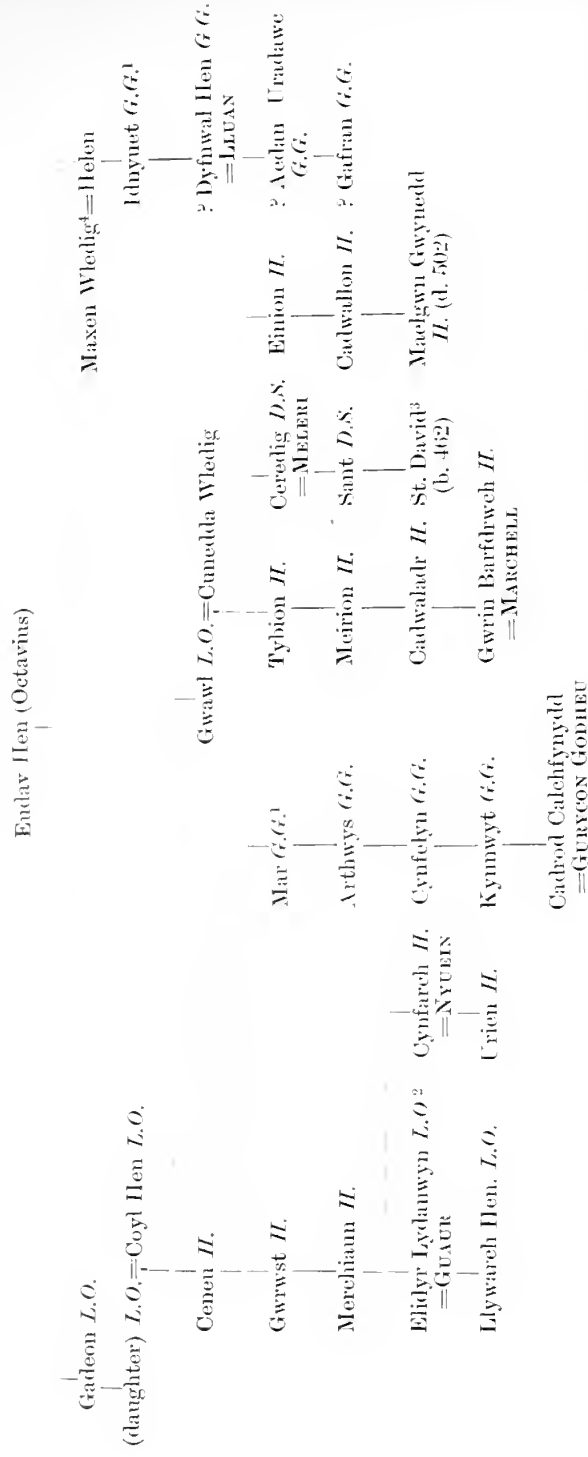
KENEDLON apud Mynydd Kymorth. *Cog.* only. This is merely a repetition of Koneidon apud Kydwely in monte Kyfor. No. 18.

TUTLITH yn Llys Ronwy ygwlat vorgan. *L.O.* only. A hybrid form of Tutglid and Tydfil. The addition, however, is interesting and refers to Lisworney near Cowbridge. Lewis in his *Top. Dict. of Wales* (1833) says that the church of Llysworney is "dedicated" to St. Tydfil. See also p. xlvj in the excellent appendices to John Griffith's *Edward II in Glamorgan* (1904).

RINHIDYR a bungle for St. Cynidr son of Kehin-gayr daughter of Brychan. *L.O.* only.

If the medieval tradition respecting the number of Brychan's daughters be ever disproved, it is probable that the first effective attack will be made through the apparently impossible alliances which at least six of them are said to have made with famous representatives of the "Men of the North—Gwyr y Gogledd". In order to provide a bird's-eye view of these apparently impossible alliances, I subjoin a scheme compiled from *L.O.* = Jesus

SCHEME ILLUSTRATING REPUTED ALLIANCES BETWEEN BRYCHAN'S DAUGHTERS AND GWYR Y GOGLEDD.



¹ The pedigree from this name downwards is found in *G.G.*, a document on which Mr. Ancombe lays great stress. "Its precision, its clear arrangement, and the absence of uncerifical addenda, proclaim it to be the work of a professional genealogist" (*Arch. f. Celt. Lxx.*, ii. 521). It must be noted, however, that Mar and Arthwys do not appear in *II.*, a much older manuscript, where Pabo is made the son of Cenau ap Coel, whereas in *G.G.* he is described as son of Arthwys ap Mar ap Kenau, etc. Moreover the statement in *G.G.*, that Gafran is the son of Aedan Urdawe, etc., is a serious error, for Gafran, as is well known, was the father of Aedan, who died in the Annus cxxiii, which in the era of the *Annales Cambrie* is 607 A.D. Gafran died Annus cxiiv, which in the same era makes 538 A.D., whilst in the notice of his death he is described as the son of Dungart. If Lhaan, therefore, is the mother of this particular Aedan, she cannot possibly be the daughter of our present Brychan. It may, of course, be quite another Aedan who has been confounded with his more famous namesake.

² Llywarch ab Elidyr ab Merchiam appears both in *L.O.* and *G.G.*, but *not* in *II.* Moreover, Elifor Gosgorduanr, who is made the son of Arthwys ab Mar, etc., in *G.G.*, is described in *II.* as brother of Merchiam ap Gwrwt, etc. The two sons of Elifor, viz., Gwrwt and Peredur were slain in the Annus cxxxvi, which in the era of Stilleho's Consulship is (400 + 135) = 535 A.D. Their "Welsh" nephew, Urien ap Cynfarch, was treacherously murdered, apparently during the reign of Hussa, King of Northumbria (585-592). It is impossible, therefore, that a daughter of our Brychan could have been this Urien's mother. Llywarch Hen is not mentioned in Nennius, either as one of the British chiefs who fought against the Angles of Northumbria, or as one of the famous British poets who flourished at that time, among which last there is a Blackbard but no Llywarch (*Chronica Minor*, iii., 205-6). The association of Urien of the North with Arthur, is, of course in this case, a gross anachronism, as Arthur fell at Camlan in 492 A.D. Llywarch Hen is always associated with Powys or Mid-Wales (cf. Anwyl's "Prolegomena to Study of Old Welsh Poetry"; *Trans. of Cymm. Soc.* (1903-4), 72, etc.), and belongs apparently to the fifth century. At least in a charter on p. 146 of the *Book of Llandaf*, in which Augustus, one of the kings of Brycheiniog, gives some property at Llangors in modern Breconshire to the monks of Llandaf, reference is made in the boundaries of this property to a certain *cland llywarch hen*. Part of Dr. Evans' translation on p. 369 reads as follows:—"From the Aber of the Well of the Twelve Saints on Lake Syvaddon along the Gwver upwards to its spring, to the head of *Llywarch Hen's dyke*: *along the dyke till it descends into the Llynni*," etc. Now, as the son of this King Augustus, whose name was Elgistil, was treacherously slain by Teudur son of *Rein ap Brychan* (see p. 167), Augustus must have been a contemporary of Rein, so that Llywarch Hen was already a well-known personage in the fifth century. Moreover, as the reference to the dyke descending into the R. Llynni shews, he must have been a neighbour of the Brycheiniotes, so that the tradition that he was the son of Guaur v'ch Brychan is by no means improbable. To return to Urien, it must be remembered that traditions contained in the *Telo MSS.*, insist on a certain Urien, called Urien Rhuged, who drove the Scotli out of Gower, Kidweli, etc., and occupied the district between the Tawe and the Towy. This may have been Brychan's grandson and Arthur's contemporary (Rhys' *Celtic Britain*, 3rd ed., 257).

³ There is always a strong temptation to ascribe this pedigree to scribal bungling, thus, Dewi Sant ap C'edig ap Cunedda being read as Dewi ap Sant ap C'edig ap Ceredig ap Cunedda as it appears in the important *Bonedd y Saint* (Peniarth MSS., 16 and 45).

⁴ Maxen, i.e., Maxentius, has suffered grievously in being mistaken for Maximus who became Emperor of Rome and perished miserably in 388 A.D. The real Maxen appears to have been a Britannie Romanus in South Wales (cf. Cadwr Maxen near the Teify: the Pedigree No. II in *II.*; the tale called *Maxen's Dream*, etc.) who formed a matrimonial alliance with a "Roman" princess of Carnarvon, viz., Helena, daughter of Octavius. He appears to have had at least four sons, viz., St. Peblie (Publius ?); Eugenius (i.e., Owen Vindlu); [Int]imnet [of] Dyfed (? Ped. II, *I' Cymru*., ix, 171); and Antonius (Anthon).

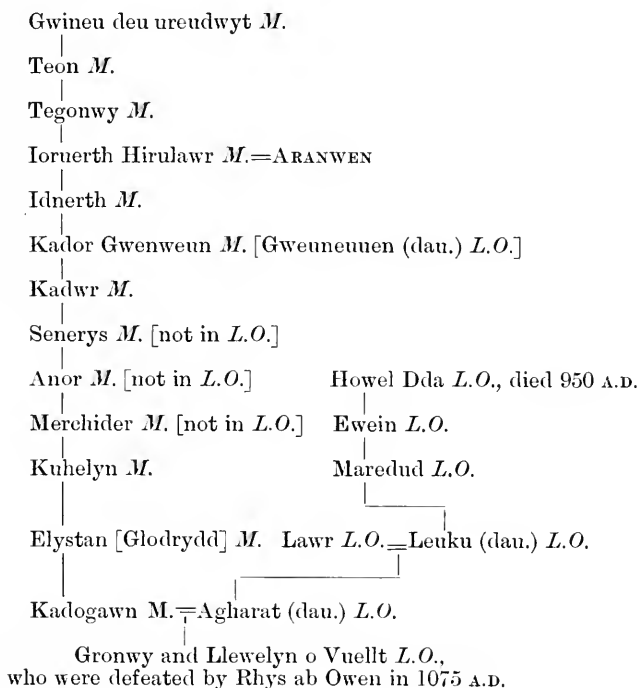
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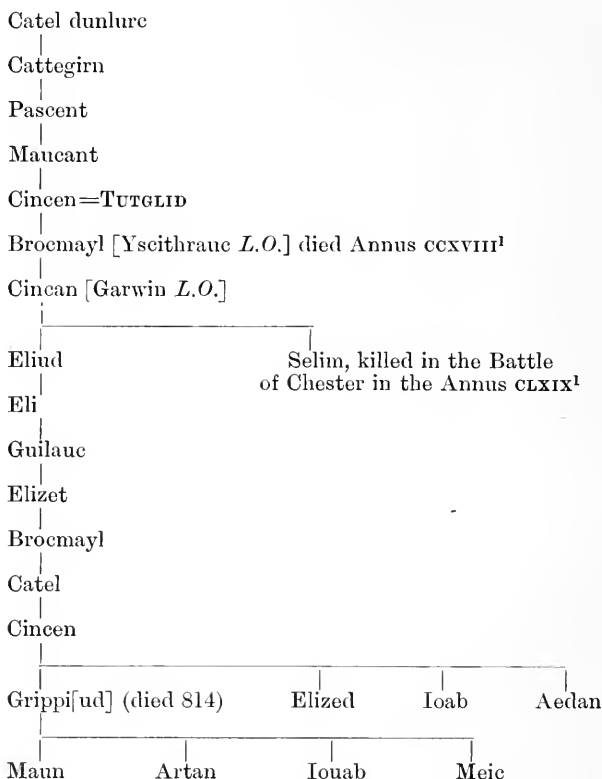
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Coll. MS. 20; *G.G.* = Bonedd Gwyr y Gogledd (Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. ii, appendix); and *H.* = Harleian MS. 3859 (*Y Cymm.*, vol. ix).

IORWERTH HIRFLAWDD.—In the following pedigree, *M.* denotes Mostyn MS. 117 (13th cent.) and *L.O.* as before. It would seem that Iorwerth, the founder of the Powysian “tribe” of Iorwerthion, comes much too late to have married Aranwen, a daughter of our Brychan. But this pedigree is by no means conclusive, as names may have dropped out.



TUTGLID.—The following pedigree is compiled from Harleian MS. 3859 [and Jesus College MS. 20, where marked *L.O.*]



¹ These two Anni in the era of the *Annales Cambriæ* make 662 and 613 respectively, but they seem to refer to the same year, being apparently computations from two distinct eras, neither of which is that of the *Annales* itself. The first, viz. Annus ccxviii, if computed from the Consulship of Stilicho, gives $400 + 217 = 617$ A.D., and the second, viz. Annus clxix from the erroneous Bedan date of the Saxon Advent, gives $449 + 168 = 617$ A.D. This year 617 A.D. (which really represents Sept. 1, 616—August 31, 617) is that of the Battle of Chester, where patriotic Englishmen are pleased to see a severing of

This pedigree contradicts that of the *De Situ* which states that Kenken, the father of Brochwel Ysgythrog, was son of Kenwaur Cadcatluc. We certainly have some bungling here. As far as chronology is concerned, it is quite possible that a granddaughter of Brychan could be the wife of Maelgwn Gwynedd (died 502), but it is quite impossible that a daughter of our Brychan could be the mother of Brochwel who died in 617.

THE DATE OF BRYCHAN.—“St. David ap Sant ap Meleri v'ch Brychan” was born in Annus xiv, which in the era of the *Annales* makes $445 + 13 = 458$. But in the *Vite* of St. David, there is a fixed tradition that he was born thirty years after St. Patrick went to Ireland as Bishop, which occurred in 433. Hence St. David was born $433 + 29 = 462$ A.D. Now 462 A.D. is Annus xiv, computing from the false Bedan date of the Saxon Advent, viz. $449 + 13 = 462$, which era is known to be one of the many distinct eras commingled in the computations of our present *Annales*. We may, therefore, for the present say roughly that Brychan was born at latest *circa* 400 A.D.

C.—THE FOUR SEPULCHRA.

Both our authorities agree as to the sepulchra, which are as follows:—

the Britons of Wales from those of the North. This of course, if it means anything, assumes that there were previous to this date Cymry beyond the R. Dee, in what we now call Cheshire and Lancashire, which no one as yet has succeeded in shewing. The Cymry who entered North Wales from Cumberland and Southern Scotland *came over the sea* and were regarded by the “Romans” of Britannia as transmarine Picts. The only severing of Britannia was that which the *Excidium Britanniae* calls *lugubre divortium*, and which occurred in A.D. 577 as a result of the Battle of Deorham in modern Gloucestershire. Until this date, Britannia was a fixed quantity, at least from 424-5, the year when Vortigern began to reign in S.E. Wales.

1. *Sepulchrum* BRYCHAN in Enys Brachan near Mannia *D.S.*; in the valley of Brychan in Mynav *Cog.*
2. *Sepulchrum* REIN in Llandyfailog. There are two places so called in Breconshire, and one in Carmarthenshire.
3. *Sepulchrum* CYNOG at Merthyr Cynog in Breconshire.
4. *Sepulchrum* ANLACH before the door of Llan-spyddyd Church near Brecon.

The situation of Mannia or Mynav is not yet known. It may be well, therefore, to place together all the references to it in these documents:—

- (a) Kynon ab Brychan, a saint in the western part of the aforesaid Mannia. *D.S.* This is, however, the first time it is mentioned in this MS.

Kynon ab Arthen, who is in Manan. *Cog.*

- (b) Run, a saint *ycallet* (?) in Manan. *Cog.*

Runan in the place called Manaw. *L.O.*

- (c) Bethan in Mannia. *D.S.*

Bechan in Manav. *Cog.*

- (d) Brychan lies in Enys Brachan near Mannia. *D.S.*

Brychan lies in the valley of Brychan in Mynav. *Cog.*

There is a *Vallis Brachan* referred to twice in the *Book of Llandav* (217 and 263) which appears to be situated within the modern parish of St. Bride's-super-Ely in Glamorgan-shire. The first reference is found in certain boundaries in a grant of land called *Villa Penn Onn et Sant Tyllull*, which Dr. Gwenogfryn Evans, with a query, identifies with St. y Nill in the above parish. The relevant passage reads as follows:—" *Finis illius est: de valle Brachan* along the high road as far as the spring; from the spring following the high road as far as the ford on the Dulas. *Ab occidentali*

parte de Nant Brachan along the ditch, following it straight to the other ditch, along it as far as Rhiw Guorgued. From the Rhiw in a straight line to the head of the dyke. Along the dyke to the ascent as far as the Cecin. From the Cecin as far as Brynn Hinn Hitian as far as Dulas." The second reference is found under the heading *Lann sant breit in mainaur crucmarc* with a peculiar contraction over the *ar* of the last word. Dr. Evans says (352)—"This contraction is not used elsewhere in this MS. ? *crucmarchan* or *crucmrachan*. Cp. *Marchan* and *Brachan*." It refers to St. Bride's-super-Ely, and the boundary is described thus: "In width from Nant Brachan as far as Glesius [Glasswg]. In length from Ffynnon Liss as far as the confluence of the two brooks of Brachan —*ir dou nant brachan*." In a casual reference to the 6-inch Ordnance Survey map, I find Nant Dowlais and Glasswg, also a place called Pentre-Bannau, but nothing nearer Nant Brychan than Nant Rhych. Others may be more successful. Seeing that the *Cognacio* makes Kynon, who is in western Manan, to be the son of Arthen, and that there is a Llanarthen near Marshfield in S.W. Monmouthshire; seeing also that Run or Runan is described as being in Manan, it may not be amiss to point out that the old name of Marshfield is Maerun, whatever that may signify (*Bk. of Llandav*, 190; Leland's *Itinerary in Wales* (ed. 1906), 15).

D.—PALÆOGRAPHICAL.

De Situ.

10b. 11. Metrum with h above line and mark of omission.

10b. 18. A later hand, probably that of the *Cognacio* has underlined *siue*, the writer probably having hesitated before the very unusual construction of this part of the sentence.

11a. 20. The d of Keredic seems to have been changed from t.

11a. 25. The e of Bethan is apparently changed from a.

Cognacio.

157b. The three notes printed here interlineally are in the left margin in the original MS. On the next page they are all interlineal.

158a. 5. Between Benny and Et is a mark of omission, which refers to the passage copied on 159a. from the *De Situ*, viz. 10b. 20. Regressus est, etc., to line 23 Din Drichan.

158a. 30. After Clytwyn is a word of two letters, possibly al for alias, or ut or et.

158b. 9. *Ninctis* is difficult to read. The letter before the t appears to be c, with some attempt to change it into i. The expansion of the contraction into *is* is a guess.

Two Charters of Henry VII.

By ALFRED NEOBARD PALMER.

A CHARTER TO THE INHABITANTS OF BROMFIELD AND YALE.

INTRODUCTORY NOTES.

ABOUT twenty years ago the late Simon Yorke, Esq., of Erddig, lent me the Latin MS., a free translation of which I printed in my *History of Ancient Tenures of Land in the Marches of North Wales* (published in 1885). The MS. was speedily returned, but mislaid at Erddig. Recently it has been found, and I have borrowed it for a few days so that an exact copy may be made. The MS. is by no means consistent with itself, either in respect of spelling or forms of letters. For example, the distinction between *a* and *o* is by no means always observed, and what is meant for an *a* is often much more like an *o*, and contrariwise. The same remark has to be made concerning the *c* and *t* as they appear in the writing. But I have copied the MS. with as much exactness as possible, not merely because the record is important to be reproduced as it really is, but also to show how variously the words in this old transcript were spelled and abbreviated. Finally, I should like to say that I am not responsible for the Latinity (which, however, is extremely interesting), and that while in my earlier translation there were some words I could not decipher, I have now interpreted the whole MS.

*Endorsement, in somewhat later hand, of a MS. at Erddig
belonging to Philip Yorke, Esq. :—*

“A graunt from K. H. 7 to the inhabitants of Bromfeild and Yale to free them from diuers obligts and stricte lifes according to the statutes in form^r tymes.”

Henricus dei grā Rex Anglie et ffraunc ⁊ dñs hibñie oībs ad quos p'sents he pven^rint Salutem. Sciatis qd licet in pliamento dñi H: nup regs Anglie quarti pgenitoris nři anno regni sui Secdo tent auctoritate eiusdem pliamenti ordinat ⁊ Statut fuit qd nullus walicus aut homo de wallia aliqua tras teñ dñia mañia villas villat reddit reūsiones aut s^rvitia sive hereditand^a quacunq' infra Angliā aut in aliquibus burgis et villis Anglicanis infra walliam acquirere seu obtinere deberet tenend sibi et hered suis in feodo simplici feodo Taliat aut alio modo quocunq nec aliquis huiusmodi walicus seu homo de walia aliqd officiū vic maiorat ballivat constabular aut alterius consimilis in aliqua civit burgo vel villa infra Angliā seu in aliquo burgo aut villa Anglicana inffra waliā gereret teneret occuparet seu sup se assumet sub certis pœnis in statuto predco exp^rssis et limittat pvt in eodem statuto plenius continet^r. NOS tamen bona et laudabilia S^rvicia que dili subditi nři tenentes ⁊ inhabitantes inffra dominiū nrū de Bromfield et Yale in Northwalia nobis diu^rsmodo ante hec tempora impenderunt indiesq impendere non desistunt intime considerants de grā nra special et ex certa scientia et mero motu nř necnon de Avismento concilij nři concessimus pro nobis et hered nris quod oēs et singtī tent^s et inhabitants inffra dniū pred et eor hered et successo^es aut eor quitt de cetero terras teñ dñia mañia villas villat castra reddit reuercoe^s et Servicicia possessiones et hereditand quecunq'

infra Angliā et in burgis et in villis Anglicanis infra walliam pquirire here recipere et tenere possint sibi et hered suis in feodo simplici Ad terminū vite vel annor feodo qualitruncq talliat^r aut alio modo quocunq' impuñ Et quod huiusmodi tenents et inhabitants ac eor hered et successōes et eor quitt sint et sit libi et libr ac officia vic maiorat custod pacis ballivat constabilariat ac alia officia quecunq eis consona si ad officia illa etci aut evocat fu'int aut eor aliquis etcus aut evocat fu'it infra Angliā et in burgis et in villis Anglicanis infra walliam lib. gerere tenere gaudere ⁊ occupare valeant ⁊ possint ac valeat ⁊ possit licit quiet bene et in pace [ET] quod iidem teñts et inihabantes et eor hereds et Successores et eor quitt sint et ēe possint burgens^s et eor quitt sit ēe possit burgenc' in aliquibs et in quibuslibet huiusmodi burgenc^s et in villis Anglicanis in Wallia et p̃ burgenē in burgis et in villis hēant^r reputent^r ac vnusquisq eor heat^r et reputet^r consimilibs et eisdem modo et forma quibs Anglie in p^rsentib^s existunt hēant^r et reputent^r absq contradiccōe impedind^o perturbacōe molestacoe inquietacōe seu gravamine quacunq nri vel hered nrū aut officario^r ministro^r nr aut alio^r quorcunq, Et insup concessimus p̃ nobis et heredib^s nris pred quod oia illa terr teñt reddit reuerccōes S^rvicia possessiones et hereditamēt infra predt d'miniū que sunt in tenera de gavelkind aut de tenura wallicāna et inter hered masculos diuisibilia de cetero non sint diuisibilia sed primogenito vel seniori fil sive hered descend et hereditabl Et pro defect hered masculo^r Inter hered sive exit females deuisibilia de cetero sint descendenc et hereditabl secundū modū et formā Et pvt terre ⁊ teñ secundū Legem Cōem regni Anglie sunt descendenc remanēnc sive revertabilia Concessimus etiam et p̃ nobis et hered nris qd nullus tenen aut inhabitantes predict aut aliquis eōrdem hered seu successor a modo com-

pellenc^r nec exacti erunt pro [*sic*] nos vel hered aut officiar seu ministros nros aut alios quoscunque ad iñrand sive ad accipiend Onus serviend sive occupand officiũ Ragloti sive Ringild in aliqua Raglaria sive Ringildina infra dminiũ p^rdict neque exact erunt aut compellent aut elegend p^rsentand neq iñrand ad accipiend onus ad servend sive occupand officiũ Ballivor sive Ballivi aut escaet^r in villa de Wrexham Sed qđ p^rdict tenents et inhabitantes et eor quilt decetero sint et sit inde quieti et quietus imppeĩm Et qđ quedam Custume sive exaões ibidem vocat firma forestar alit^r vocat Comorth foresto^r firma S^riant pacis aliter vocat Cylch kais : firma equiciar alit^r vocat kylch Grew^r repācio maĩi alit^r vocat treth lles : exit officii feodi Ragloti et Ringildi vidlt de auenis et littera p̃ equo ragloti et denar cũ p^rdict avenis p̃ feodo Ragloti et Ringildi fuit que quidem exacti sive Custume vocat kylgh. Et etiam qđ quedā exaccões sive Custume sive ffinis Anñalis focall Alit^r treth y tan denar molend alĩ treth melyn vidlt p̃ non verticõe aque ad molendina nra et ad[voca]t nra aliter vocat Arthell et denar aduocat alĩ vocat arian Arthell : vidlt quatuor denar solut anñatim firma p̃ advocat deleant et exterminet nec aliqua denarioĩ sũma de seu pro eisdem firma forestar firma Seriant pacis firma equiciarii repacoe maĩij exitus officie feodi Ragloti et Ringild exit focal denar molendini et aduocat et denar aduocat de sup p̃ eisdem p̃ forestar Raglot Ringild balliuos p^rposit aut collect infra dominũ p^rdict aut eor aliquem aut alios officarios quoscunq levet nec levabit exist^r set qđ oēs teĩtes et inhabitants pred et eor hereds et Successoes et eor quilt a modo sint et sit de p^rmis's et eor quolt quiet et quiet^r impun absque contradicõe impedind^o pturbacõe reclamacõe molestacõe inquietacõe gravamine quocunq nri vel hered nroũ aut officarioĩ seu ministroĩ nror aut Baliorũ quorũcunq : Aliqua consuetudine infra dñiu predict in contrām

sive p̃ contra p̃mis's vel aliqd̃ premissor̃ prius hēt in aliquo modo non obstant Eo qd̃ exp̃ssa mencio de ṽo valore Annuo seu de certitudine p̃missor in p̃nt minime fact existent statuto p̃dict aut aliquibz alijs statutis Actubz ordinacōibz p̃visionibz p̃scribeōibz aut consuetudinibz in contr̃am p̃missor ante hec tempora fact hēt edit ordinat p̃uic seu vsitat nec aliqua alia re causa vel materia quacunq in aliquo non obstant et hoc absque fine seu feodo ad opus nr̃u quovismodo soluend In cuius rei testimoniū has t̃ras fieri fecimus patent Teste meipso Apud knoll octavo die Augusti anno regni nr̃i vicesimo

p b̃re de privato Sigillo et
de dat pred auctoritate plamenti

FRESH TRANSLATION.

HENRY, by the grace of God king of England and France and lord of Ireland, to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Know ye that although in the parliament of the lord Henry the fourth, lately king of England, our progenitor, in the second year of his reign, it was ordained and determined by authority of the same parliament that no Welshman or man of Wales ought to acquire or obtain any lands, tenements, lordships, manors, towns, townships, rents, reversions, services or hereditaments whatever within England or in any English boroughs and towns within Wales, to hold to himself or his heirs in fee simple, fee tail, or in any other manner whatever, nor that any Welshman or man of Wales should bear, hold, occupy, or take upon himself any office [such as that] of sheriff, mayor, bailiff, constable, or of any other the like in any city, borough or town within England, or in any English borough or town within Wales, under certain penalties in the

aforesaid statute expressed and limited as in the same statute is more fully contained. We, nevertheless, considering the good and praiseworthy services which our beloved undernamed tenants and inhabitants within our lordship of Bromfield and Yale, in North Wales, to us in divers ways, before these times have daily yielded, and still heartily yield, of our special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, as well as of the advice of our council, have granted for us and our heirs that all and singular the tenants and inhabitants within our lordship aforesaid and their heirs and successors, or any one of them, may purchase, have, receive and hold any lands, lordships, manors, towns, townships, castles, rents, reversions, services, possessions and hereditaments whatever within England and in English boroughs and towns within Wales, to them and their heirs in fee simple, in fee tail, for term of life, of years, in any manner whatever entailed, or in any other way whatever, securely. And that tenants and inhabitants of this sort and their heirs and successors, and any one of them, be free, and made able and capable to bear, hold, enjoy and occupy the offices of sheriff, mayor, justice of the peace, bailiff, constable and other offices similar to them, if to those offices they be elected or called or some one of them be elected and called within England and in the free English boroughs and towns within Wales, lawfully, quietly, well, and in peace. And that the same tenants and inhabitants, and their heirs and successors, may be burgesses, and any one of them may be a burgess, in any and in whatever [sorts] of burgesship of this kind, and be held and reputed as burgesses in English towns in Wales, and each one of them be held and reputed, in boroughs and towns, in like and the same manner and form in which Englishmen now are held and reputed, without contradiction, impediment, perturbation, moles-

tation, disturbance or complaint whatever of ourselves, our heirs, officers, ministers, or of any other whatever. And moreover, we have granted, for us and our heirs aforesaid, that all those lands, tenements, rents, reversions, services, possessions and hereditaments within the aforesaid lordship which are in the tenure of gavelkind, or of Welsh tenure, and divisible between heirs male, shall not be divisible, but descend and be hereditary to the first born or elder son or heirs, and in default of heirs male shall be descendible and hereditary between female heirs or issue, according to the mode and form, and so as lands and tenements are descendible, remainable, or revertible according to the common law of the kingdom of England. We have granted also, both for us and our heirs, that no tenants or inhabitants aforesaid, or any one of the heirs or successors of the same be now compelled or required, in respect of us, our heirs, officers, or ministers, or others whatever, to enter on or accept the charge of serving or occupying the office of raglot or ringild¹ in any raglotry or ringildry within our lordship aforesaid, nor be required, compelled, elected, presented, or entered for accepting the charge of serving or occupying the office of bailiffs or bailiff or escheator² in the town of Wrexham, but that the

¹ The "raglot" was the civil representative or official within the commote (*cymwd*) of the lord of the commote, and the "ringild" was his apparitor. The raglot and ringild were entitled to make a "cylch", circuit, or progress among the men of the commote, and quarter themselves upon them, or receive a fee instead of such "cylch". The commote was therefore often called a "raglotry" or "ringildry".

² "Bailiffs or bailiff or escheator in the town of Wrexham." The men of "the community of Wrexham" were during the Middle Ages (in the time of Edward IV certainly) accustomed to elect and present for appointment from among themselves one escheator and *two* bailiffs. Of the bailiffs, one was elected by the Welsh tenants and one by the English.

aforesaid tenants and inhabitants, and any one of them, be quit therefrom, for ever, And that certain customs or exactions there called farm of [the office of] forester, otherwise called "Comorth¹ forestor", farm of [the office of] serjeant of the peace, otherwise called "Cylch kais",² farm of the [office of] groom, otherwise called "kylch Grew", repair of manor house, otherwise called "treth lles",³ issue of office of fee of raglot and ringild, namely, oats and litter for the raglot's horse, and a penny with the aforesaid oats for the raglot and ringild's fee, which were exacted, or customs called "kylgh", and also that certain customs or exactions, or a yearly hearth fine, otherwise called "treth y tan", mill-penny, otherwise called "treth melyn", namely, for not turning water to our mills, and our advowry, otherwise called "Arthell",⁴ and advowry penny, otherwise called "arian Arthell", namely fourpence paid yearly as farm for advowry, be destroyed and done away, nor any sum of pence for the same farm of forester, farm of serjeant of the peace, farm of groom, repair of manor house, issue of office of raglot's and ringild's fee, hearth tax, mill penny, advowry, and advowry penny, as above, be raised for the same, for foresters, raglots, ringilds, bailiffs, provosts or collectors within our lordship aforesaid, or for

¹ "Comorth", properly "Cymhorth", was an aid or collection, given voluntarily or by compulsion for various objects.

² The "cais", or sergeant of the peace, was, like the raglot, ringild and others, entitled to a "cylch" or to a fee (*cylch cais*) instead thereof. The lord's head stud groom was also allowed such a fee (*cylch grewr*).

³ "Treth lles" should, of course, be "treth llys".

⁴ "Advocatio" or "advocaria", "advowry", and "arddelw", or "arddelwad", were the law Latin, English, and Welsh forms of a name given to a condition in which persons, who had fled from their own superior, placed themselves under another lord, who "avowed" or answered for them, they paying some acknowledgment (*arian arddel*) to their new lord, and their names being placed on the raglot's roll.

any of them, or for any other officers whatever that may be, but that all tenants and inhabitants aforesaid and their heirs and successors, and any one of them, be now quit and made quiet of the premisses, and of any one of them, securely, without contradiction, impediment, perturbation, reclamation, molestation, disturbance or charge whatever, ANY custom within the aforesaid lordship to the contrary, or against the premisses, or any of them, formerly held in any way, notwithstanding, in that express mention of the true annual value or certainty of the premisses be not herein at all made, the aforesaid statute, or any other statutes, acts, ordinances, provisions, prescriptions or customs against the premisses before these times made, held, enacted, published, or used, or any other thing, cause, or matter whatever, in any respect notwithstanding, and that without any fine or fee of any sort for our work to be paid. In testimony of which thing we have caused these our letters patent to be made. I being witness. At Knoll on the eighth day of August in the twentieth year of our reign.

By letter of privy seal and
of date aforesaid by authority of parliament.

CHARTER OF HENRY VII TO THE INHABITANTS OF CHIRKLAND.

HENRICUS dei gratia Rex Anglie ⁊ francie ⁊ dominus hibernie OMNIBUS ad quos presentes littere peruen'int, salutem SCIATIS qd licet in parlamento domini h. nuper Regis Anglie quarti progenitoris nostri apud Westmonasterium Anno regni secundo tento auctoritate eiusdem par-

liamenti inactitatū et statutum fuerit q'd nullus Wallieus aut homo de Wallia aliqua terras tenementa dominia maneria villas villatas redditus reuersiones aut seruicia siue hereditamenta quecumque infra Angliam aut in aliquibus Burgis seu villis Anglicanis infra Walliam acquirere seu obtinere deberet tenend sibi et heredibus suis in feodo simplici feodo talliato aut alio modo quocumque Nec q'd aliquis huiusmodi Wallieus seu homo de Wallia aliquod officium vicecomit Maioratus Balliuatus Constabulariatus aut alterius consimilis in aliqua ciuitate Burgo vel villa infra Angliam seu in aliquo Burgo aut villa Anglicana infra Walliam gereret teneret occuparet seu super se assumeret sub certis penis in statutis predictis expressis et limitatis vt in eodem statuto plenius continetur Nos tamen bona gratuita et laudabilia seruicia que dilei subditi nostri Tenentes et inhabitantes infra dominiū nostrum de Chirk ⁊ Chirkland in Marchia Wallie nobis diuersimodo ante hoc tempora impenderunt indiesque impendere non desistunt intime considerantes de gracia nostra speciali ac ex certa scientia et mero motu nostro necnon de Aduisamento consilij nostri concessimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris q'd omnes et singuli Tenentes ac Inhabitantes infra dominiū de Chirk et Chirkland predict ac eorum heredes et Successores ibidem pro tempore existentes decetero terras tenementa dominia maneria villas villatas castra redditus reuersiones et seruicia possessiones et hereditamenta quecumque infra Angliam et in Burgis et villis Anglicanis infra Walliam perquirere habere recipere et tenere possint sibi et heredibus suis in feodo simplici ad terminū vite vel annorum feodo qualitercunq talliato aut alio modo quocumque imperpetuū. Et q'd huiusmodi Tenentes et inhabitantes ac eorum heredes et Successores et eorum quilibet sint et sit liberi et liber ad officia vicecomit' maioratus custodicii pacis Constabulariatus aut

alia officia quecumque eis consona si ad [officia] illa electi aut euocati fuerint aut eorum aliquis electus aut euocatus fuerit infra Angliam et in Burgis et villis Anglicanis infra Walliam libere gerere, tenere gaudere occupare valeant et possint ac valeat et possit tenere quiete bene et in pace. Et q'd ijdem Tenentes et inhabitantes et eorum heredes et Successores ac eorum quilibet sint et sit ac esse possint et possit Burgenses et Burgensis in aliquibus et quibuslibet huiusmodi Burgis et Villis [Anglicanis in] Wallia et pro Burgensibz in Burgis et villis predictis habeantur et reputentur ac vnusquisque eorum habeatur et reputetur consimilibus modo et forma quibus Anglicani in presenciarum existunt habeantur et reputentur absq̃ cont̃dicione impedimento [perturbacione molestacione inq̃]etacione seu grauamine quocumque nostri vel heredum nostrorum aut officiarorum seu ministrorum n̄rorum aut aliorum quorūcumque. Et INSUPER concessimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris predcis q'd omnia illa terre tenementa redditus reuerciones seruicia possessiones et hereditamenta infra dominiū predictum que sunt de tenura de Gauilkynd aut de tenura Wallicana et inter heredes masculos diuisibilia decetero non sint diuisibilia set primogenito vel seniori filio siue hered. Et pro defectu heredis masculi inter heredes siue exitus femalas diuisibilia decetero sint descendencia et hereditabilia secundum legem com̄unem regni Anglie sunt descendencia remanencia seu reuertabilia. Concessimus eciam [pro nobis] et heredibus n̄ris predictis. . . . Tenentibus et inhabitantibz et eorum heredibus et Successoribz q'd ip̄i et eorum quilibet lib'e possint et possit absq̃ aliqua pena seu forisfactur' nobis forisfact ad loca quecumque tam m̄catoria q'm alia bonis et catallis suis ad eadem bona ⁊ catalla sua vendend. Et q'd non teneantur neq̃ compellantur nec aliquis eorum teneatur neq̃ compellatur ad

soluend tolmeta nobis aut alicui heredum n̄ror infra
dominiū de Chirk predict dominii
predicti venditis seu vendend. Et q'd omnes tenentes et
inhabitantes p'dicti et ipoñ heredes et Successores et eorum
quilibet decetero sint quieti et exoñati ⁊ quietus et
et exoñatus de omnibus et vtriusmod nobis et here-
dibus [nostris] aut firmariis seu ministris nostris ibidem
quibuscumque soluend infra dominiū predictum sicut Bur-
genses ville de Chirk predict sunt infra eundem dñium.
Et CONCESSIMUS pro nobis et heredibus n̄ris predictis q'd
omnes tenentes et inhabitantes [predicti] ac eorum
heredes et Successores habeant et habere possint et valeant
siue eorum quilibet habeat et habere possit et valeat
liberam et cōem pasturam pro omnibus et omnimod
animalijs et aueriis suis omnibus in forestis
nostris de kumcath karregnant Bodlith, dolwen et mochnant
in dño predicto [absq̄ aliquo redditu] aut alia
denariorum sum̄a nobis aut heredibus nostris seu firmariis
ibidem quibuscumque red seu quouismodo
soluend. Et q'd tenentes infra commot de Nanheuduy et
in Ringildria de mochnant aut eorum heredes et Succes-
sores decetero non compellantur nec exacti [. . .] per nos
vel heredes aut Officiarios nostros seu ministros aut alios
quoscumque ad seruiendum siue occupan-
dum officium Ringildi neq̄ teneantur aut compellantur ad
veniendum siue faciendum sectam ad molendina nostra
quacumque infra dominiū p'dc̄m. Nec eciam q'd tenentes
et inhabitantes infra Commot de kynlleyth et mochnant
neq̄ eorum heredes aut Successores decetero compellantur
ad faciendum sectam ad Curiam n̄ram apud Chirk sed
solomodo infra Commot de kynlleyth et mochnant provt
antiq̄m et facere Et si quis
tenens aut inhabitans pred̄cus infra dictum dominiū
heredum seu successorum suorum intestatus obierit

Escaetor aut aliquis alius Officiarius ibidem n̄r seu de bonis catallis et debitis huiusmodi decedentis [nullatenus intromittat sed total]iter decedentis loci ordinario [cedeat] et reuertetur ad vsum et dispositionem heredum seu propinquiorum talis decedentis. ET VLTERIUS q'd quidam custume siue exaciones ibidem vocat opera et consuetudines videlicet, treth treth melyn vocat opera molendina [. vertitudine] Aque seu aliis operibus ad molendina nostra opera messionū Treth mayr Gaiaf Treth kawsty Treth scubor Treth gweission Bychain Treth oen treth d Treth [chirk] Treth dan Treth pent[eulu] treth kvlch kais kvlch Ringild kvlch Ebolion et Greor kvlch equorum domini kylch equorum Senescalli et Garcionis sui kylch koydwr Twng Amobir et Aduocaria et denarij Aduocarie alias Arddel et Arian [Arddel] nec aliqua d[enarior]um sumā [inde seu] pro eisdem operibus trethe kylche Twng Amobyr et arddel et arian Arddel custumis et consuetudinibus predictis per nos et heredes n̄ros forestarios Ringildos ballivos dominiū predictum aut per eorum aliquem aut alios officarios quoscunque leueter neque soluatur nec leuabilis existit. Sed q'd omnes tenentes et inhabitantes predicti et eorum heredes et Successores ac eorum quilibet decetero et eorum quilibet quieti et quietus imperpetuū absque contradicione impedimento perturbacione reclamacione inquietacione seu grauamine quocumque nri vel heredum n̄ror aut Officiarorum aut eorum aliqua consuetudine [causa] more vel vsu infradictum dominiū incontrariū siue contra premissa vel aliquod premissorum prius h̄it in aliquo non obstant. Eo q'd expressa mencio de vero valore in presentibus minine specificat e[xista]t statuto predicto aut aliquibus statutis actibus ordinacionibus proclamacionibus

prouisionibus prescripcionibus aut consuetudinibus in contrariū premissorum ante hec tempore prouis
 nec aliena causa vel materia
 quacunque in aliquo non obstant. Et hoc absq̃e fini seu
 feodo ad opus nostrum seu ad officium vel feodo hanaperij
 nr̃i quouismodo soluend vel capiend. **HIIIS TESTIBUS** . . .
 patribus Willō Cancellario nostro ⁊
 Thoma Eboracensi Archiepiscopis venerabilibus in x̃ro patri-
 bus Riçō Wintoñ custode priuati sigilli nostri et Edmundo
 Sap Episcopis precarissimis Consanguineis nostris Johanne
 ac Admirallo nostri [regni] Georgio [Salop]
 Senescallo hospicij nostri et Thomā Sur̃ Theſ. nostro
 necnon dil̃cis ⁊ fidelibus suis Egidio Daubeney de Dau-
 beney Camerario ñro et Thoma louell Theſ. hospicij nostri
 et Edmundo Dud pre[sidentis con]siliij
 nostri Armigō ⁊ aliis. **DAT** per manū ñram apud West-
 monasterm̃ vicesimo die Julij Anno regni nostri vicesimo
 primo. p. ipm̃ Regem ⁊ de data
 pd̃ca auctoritate parlamenti.

[No translation is offered here of this Chirkland Charter. Such translation would be very incomplete, as so large a part of the Latin copy is, for the reason already given, quite illegible.]

NOTES TO CHIRK CHARTER.

This charter to the tenants and inhabitants of Chirk, long in the possession of the Pulestons of Emral (to whom it came from the Edwardses of Chirk), was, for years unknown, kept in an attic where it became soaked with damp, so that when brought to light it was in a lamentable condition. Even then, nearly all of it might perhaps have been read if some one, in the spirit of "restoration", had not overwritten many of the faint letters and words, and

often overwritten them wrongly, so as to conceal the true characters underneath. The charter now belongs to Mr. Crawshaw Puleston, of Worthenbury, who lent it to Mr. Yorke, of Erddig, where I saw and copied it.

When the words in the charter are too faint to be read with certainty, or are missing, I have, in my copy, either left a blank, or put between square brackets the words probably used, but only in case that those words exactly fill up the space of unreadable matter. However, it is to be understood that all which is contained between square brackets is more or less conjectural, while the rest I have distinctly made out.

Referring to the import of this charter, it is very similar in its tenor to other charters granted by Henry VII at this time to the tenants of other Welsh crown lordships, but the names of places differ, and also the nature of the services, dues, and customs dealt with. Herein, in fact, lies the interest of the charter, and this was the motive which prompted me to spend so many hours in its decipherment. In any case, a copy of the charter, so far as it is now capable of being copied, ought to be made, and such copy should, I think, when made be printed.

As to the Welsh dues, named in the Chirkland charter, but not mentioned in that of Bromfield and Yale, a few explanations, or brief notes, may be necessary.

“Opera messionum”, harvest works, especially works of mowing and reaping, due to the lord.

“Treth” was a tax payable to the lord or his officers, or a commutation for “cylch”, *circuit* or *progress* which the same lord or his officers were entitled to make within the commote upon the men of it.

“Treth melyn”, properly “Treth melin”, or *mill tax*, due to the lord for work at his mill, for not grinding there, and for not turning water to it.

“Treth mayr Gaiaf”, properly “Treth maer gauaf”, the due payable to *the winter mayor*, but what the functions of the winter mayor were I do not know.

• “Treth kawsty” for “Treth cawscy” or “Treth gawscy”, *the cheese house tax*, in respect of using the lord’s cheese house.

“Treth scubor”, for “Treth ysgubor”, *the barn tax*, due for the use of the lord’s barn.

“Treth gweision bychain”, a tax in commutation of the “cylch” or *progress* which the gweission bychain, little lads, or young retainers of the lord, were accustomed to make.

“Treth oen” means *lamb’s tax*, but I cannot otherwise explain it.

“Treth d”, probably “Treth danwydd”, paid for collecting firewood.

“Treth chirk”, some sort of tax for not paying suit to the lord’s courts at Chirk, or other fees in respect of those courts.

“Treth dan”, *fire tax*, or *hearth tax*.

“Treth penteulu”, the due of the penteulu, or chief of the princely family, next to the actual lord.

“Kvleh kais”, that is, “Cylch cais”, the progress of the serjeant of the peace through the commote.

“Kvleh Ebolion”, or “Cylch Ebolion”, *the progress of the colts*.

“Cylch Grewr”, or “Cylch Greorion”, the progress of the lord’s stud-groom or grooms. The commutation for this is defined in the Bromfield Charter as “firma equiciarii”.

“Kvleh equorum domini”, *progress, or circuit, of the lord’s horses*.

“Kylch equorum Senescalli et gracionis sui”, *progress of the horses of the Seneshal or chief steward, and of his groom*.

“Kvleh koydwr”, or “Cylch coedwr”, *Woodman’s progress*, perhaps the same as “Cylch penfforestwr”, or *progress of the chief forester*, commuted in Bromfield into a “cymhorth”, or *aid*.

“Twng”, properly “Twnc”, a rent or tribute payable by each kindred holding a “gwely”, or tribal holding, and fixed ultimately upon the land.

“Amobr”, a due payable to the lord or his officers on the marriage or violation of a woman.

An Episode in the History of Clynnog Church.

By EDWARD OWEN, BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

THE copy of the manuscript that follows contains no facts of general import, nor any that throw fresh light upon the organization of the Welsh pre-Reformation monastic and semi-monastic foundations; none the less is it a highly interesting document which may fairly be regarded as a valuable contribution to the history of the important church of Clynnog Fawr yn Arfon.

It is probable that careful research in the Public Record Office and other depositories of historical manuscripts would enable the searcher to add very considerably to the meagre accounts that have been written of the chief foundation of St. Beuno, and it is a decided reproach to local antiquaries, that the enterprise has not been attempted by one of them. So far as I know, the brief paper contributed by the late Rev. Henry Longueville Jones to the third volume of the first series of *Archæologia Cambrensis* still remains the best and, indeed, the only account of Clynnog Church; and yet (with the exception of the architectural description) how very inadequate it is.

A curious parallelism exists between the history of Clynnog Church and that of Holyhead Church, so that he who would undertake the one should lay himself out to do the other. How early the correspondence shows itself it would be difficult, probably impossible, to say with any degree of accuracy; but I am inclined to think that it first

appeared in very early days, and arose out of a similarity of ritual and organization that might ascend even to the time of Beuno and Cybi. It is surely not a casual coincidence that a writer of the reign of Elizabeth, when reporting to the Government of the day on the habits and disposition of the Welsh, observes that "Upon the Sondaies and hollidaies the multitude of all sortes of men woomen and childerne of everie parishe doe use to meete in sondrie places either one [on] some hill or one the side of some mountaine where theire harpers and crowthers singe them songs of the doeings of theire auncestors, namelie, of theire warrs againste the kings of this realme and the English nac'on, and then doe they ripp upp theire petigres at lenght, how eche of them is descended from those theire ould princes. Here also do they spende theire time in hearinge some parte of the lives of Thalaassyn [Taliessin], Marlin, Beuno, Kybbye, Ieruu [? Llywarch hen], and suche other the intended prophetts and saincts of that cuntrie."¹ Whether the "lives" that were thus used were similar in text to those that have been preserved to our own day it is of course impossible to state; the probability is that they were.

The parallelism of Clynnog with Holyhead becomes

¹ British Museum, *Lansdowne*, iii, f. 10 (see *Catalogue of the MSS. relating to Wales in the British Museum*, p. 72). In a review of this work in the *English Historical Review* for January 1906, Dr. Plummer, of Oxford, has convicted me of an error, which I deeply deplore, in that I have unfortunately misread the names of 'Beuno' and 'Kybbye' as "Beno" and "Pybbe," and have treated them as the appellative "pen beirdd" as applied to Merlin. I should be deeply obliged to all who have the *Catalogue* and who happen to read these lines if they will make the correction. There is reason to think that the writer of the above was bishop Nicholas Robinson of Bangor [1566-1585], but I have not as yet been able to trace the original; the document in *Lansdowne* iii is a copy made most probably for Lord Burghley.

clear when we get to the *Taxatio* of 1291. Both churches had become collegiate, the former with five canons, the latter with four, and it is most probable that they had arrived at this point by similar courses and at about the same period. Griffith ap Cynan had left a like bequest to each church, and the consequent patronage that we know was shown by the great tribal families of Anglesey towards Holyhead was no doubt similarly displayed by the tribal chiefs of Arfon towards Clynnog. Both churches were what we may term "royal foundations", Holyhead having become so in virtue of the acquisition by the English prince of Wales of the tribal rights of the Welsh princes (A. N. Palmer, "On the Portionary Churches of North Wales", *Arch. Camb.*, 4th Series, iii, 175). Somewhere in the latter half of the fourteenth century the number of canons at Holyhead was enlarged to twelve, and the patronage thereto seems to have been altogether appropriated by the Crown. This is evidenced by the appointments that appear upon the Patent Rolls, and it is clear that much if not all the tribal rights of patronage had been extinguished.¹ The number of appointments to canonries of Clynnog that are enrolled upon the Patent Rolls justify the inference that much the same course had been followed

¹ The point is not without difficulty, for amongst the deeds at the Public Record Office is the following, executed not many days before the inquiry which forms the subject of this paper. "Grant by Richard Bulkeley, knight, Edward Gruff(ith) esquire, John Lewys, Meredith ap Thomas, Rouland Gruff(ith), Hugo Lewys, John ap Rees ap Ll(ewell)in ap Hulkyn, Owen ap Hugh ap Owen, Redergh ap D(avi)d, Robert ap John ap Myrke, John Owen, Richard ap Maurice ap Rees, John ap Rees ap Hoell, Rees ap Howell ap Rees, Robert ap Rees ap Ll(ewell)in ap Hulkyn, Hugh ap Ll(ewell)in ap Jevaun, Robert ap Gruff(ith) ap Hoell, William ap Gwyll(i)m ap Ll(ewell)in Lloyd, William Wodde, Thomas ap D(avi)d ap Jevaun, William ap Ll(ewell)in ap Gwyll(i)m, Robert ap Ior(worth) ap Hoell, Hoel ap Ior(worth) ap Hoell, Maurice ap Maurice Rees ap David ap Edeau[n] [? Ednyvain], John ap Jevaun Lloyd,

there as at Holyhead. The collegiate body had been enlarged, and the Crown appointed apparently to all vacancies. Indeed, the same person not infrequently held a canonry in both churches by grant of the Crown, and there can be little doubt but that the continued publication of calendars of the public records will furnish further instances extending up to the period when Clynnog and Holyhead churches lost their collegiate status.

Another interesting mark of the fellowship that existed between the churches of Beuno and of Cybi is to be found in the common characteristics of their architecture. By reason of circumstances at present unknown to us the chapters of both churches about the close of the fifteenth or commencement of the sixteenth century determined to practically rebuild their several edifices, and this was carried out in each case with such similarity as to show not only a common purpose but a single architect. Differences between the buildings of course exist, and Clynnog is by far the finer structure; but the differences are only those occasioned by the local peculiarities of situation. In each case there may have existed an edifice upon the site of the present church, but if such was the case it was ruthlessly removed so as to have left no certain

Jevaun ap D(avi)d ap Gwyll(im), D(avi)d ap Tudor ap Ll(ewell)in, true and undoubted patrons of all the prebends of the collegiate church of Castle Kybye in the diocese of Bangor, to William Pallett, knight, David Walker, Robert Jones, and Hugh Roberts, clerks, and to Thomas ap Res Wyn, gentleman, jointly and severally, of the next presentation to a prebend of the said church that shall become vacant, 12 October, 29 Henry VIII." It will be noticed that Edward Griffith, esquire (the second of the above grantors), was one of the commissioners who sat at Carnarvon on the 14th of the following November. It may have been that the rights of the Crown were only those of "nomination", just as in the issue of the *congé* to elect a bishop, but it seems quite clear that there was no power of rejection in the collegiate chapter.

evidence of its presence. But close to each church still stands a smaller building, which tradition in the case of Clynnog, and ocular demonstration at Holyhead, shows to have been of an earlier period. At both places it was determined to preserve the portions of the existing sanctuaries that had become hallowed by association with the names of their Celtic founders. At Clynnog the little church of Beuno was rebuilt and architecturally united with the more splendid fane which arose by its side. At Holyhead the site did not admit of quite similar treatment, and the restricted area of Maelgwn Gwynedd's Romano-British castellum compelled the erection of the new edifice at such a distance from the earlier church of Cybi as put out of question a constructional union of both buildings.¹ The fact already mentioned, that some of the prebends and canonries (both terms seem to have been in use) in both churches were held by the same individual would lead to continuity of organization and management, and the rule under which the communities lived was probably the same. Their end as collegiate institutions

¹ The smaller church at Holyhead was probably diverted into a school soon after the dissolution of the collegiate chapter, and is now used as a vestry room. It has frequently been called Capel y Gwyddel, as being the supposed burial-place of Serigi Wyddel who was killed by Caswallon in the sixth century; but in the first Minister's Account of the college property after its appropriation by the Crown it is termed Eglwys y Bedd, and I have no doubt but that the grave which gave its name to the building was that of Cybi, just as Beuno's shrine was left undisturbed in Capel Beuno at Clynnog. In a series of papers in the *North Wales Chronicle* for 1905, I have put forward the suggestion that the walled enclosure within which the church of St. Cybi at Holyhead is built was constructed soon after the withdrawal of the Romans from Britain. I wish some antiquary of repute would take up the question, for if I am right we have at Holyhead the earliest example of post-Roman building construction in the kingdom, and one that is still in excellent preservation.

was also alike, for both became attached to Jesus College, Oxford, to which their patronage still belongs.

There was, however, one highly important feature in which the ecclesiastical establishment at Clynnog differed from that at Holyhead. The tribal rights which in the latter, as we have seen, preserved some traces of their original vitality, seem in the former to have become dormant if not altogether extinguished. How or when this had happened, whether from a sudden assertion of superior authority or from increasing carelessness and neglect it is not possible to say; perhaps from both reasons, coupled with an unpropitious conjuncture of circumstances. In date it was probably not far distant from the Dissolution year, and we seem to obtain some hint of the manner in which it was occasioned from the interesting document which follows. The immediate cause of the enquiry to which this relates was a dispute between the king and the bishop of Bangor as to the right of patronage in the church. The question at once arises, How had the bishop of the diocese come into the matter at all, save only in virtue of his undoubted right of induction? And to this question no satisfactory answer is apparent. It is, however, certain that while the occasion of the enquiry was the simple one of patronage, other circumstances added zest to the quarrel, and these have to be gleaned from the public records of the period. At the date in question (1535-6) the Bishop of Bangor was John Saleot, *alias* Capon, who "could not" the language of the country (*Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic*, No. 833, 6 June 1535). One of his principal clergy was William Glyn, "doctor of both lawes, archidiacon in the cathedral church of Bangor of ye archidiaconry of Anglesey, canon and prebendary in the said cathedral church", as he describes himself in the certificate

of the value of his preferments. He was improprie rector of Amlwch (with its chapels); propositus "or rector" of the church of Clynnog Fawr (with its chapels of Llanwnda, Llanvychan [Clynnog Fechan], Llangelynin, Llangeinwen and Llandwrog); rector of Llaneigion in Lleyn; and prebendary in the church of Llandinam in the deanery of Arwistly. He was also a portionist if not provost of St. Cybi's collegiate church at Holyhead. This ecclesiastical Poo-Bah farmed the tithes of Llangeinwen to John Puleston, serjeant-at-law, the father-in-law of another distinguished layman in the diocese, Edward Griffith of the Penrhyn, son and heir of Sir William Griffith, chamberlain of North Wales. Another able and ambitious magnate of restless temper, considerable power and growing influence, was Sir Richard Bulkeley, of Baron Hill, acting-chamberlain of North Wales, and sheriff of Carnarvonshire. With the broad lands and seigneurial privileges of the dissolved monasteries going for the asking, the period was not propitious for the cultivation of the finer virtues of generosity and reticence; so these great people did as plenty of great people were doing in every corner of the kingdom, they descended into the arena and engaged in the ignoble scramble. Everyone who was "on the make" naturally looked with suspicious eye upon his neighbour, and the demon of greed having poisoned their affections at the source, the heart became charged with envy, hatred, and all uncharitableness. We catch a glimpse of the state of feeling existing amongst the prominent men of the district at this time in a letter of Sir Richard Bulkeley to Cromwell, of the 25 June 1535. "Your Mastership", observes the former, "told my servant, this bearer, when he was last with you, that I would suffer no man to dwell in this country but myself. I trust you believe no such thing in me, for I never intended to expulse any man, but only

to do the King service though I was hindered by my old adversaries Edward Gruffith, Dr. Glyn, serjeant Pilston and Sir Roland [Velville]. ‘They play with me Scogan; for they begin to complain because they know that I have special good matter to lay unto their charges.’” Whether any circumstance in connexion with Clynnog Fawr had occasioned the enmity between these high-placed personages it is impossible to say; but it was soon to add fresh fuel to the fire that was merely slumbering.

Neither the ecclesiastical foundation of Clynnog nor that of Holyhead came within the scope of the Act for the suppression of the religious houses, (1) because their annual income was below £200 per annum—though this proved no defence to numerous monastic establishments; (2) because they were not monasteries. The term is loosely used in connection more particularly with Clynnog, but it is both inappropriate and inaccurate. However, the “hammer” that was everywhere prostrating the monks and scattering their possessions was not careful to discriminate between the true monastic orders and a few friendless regular, or even secular, canons, especially if the latter had a few acres of land or sacred vessels of silver or gold.

We have no record of what transpired at Clynnog, but it is quite certain that in 1536 the church was “visited”, its collegiate character altered, and its property confiscated. It would appear that Dr. Glyn (or one of his near predecessors) with the accommodating properties of Aaron’s rod, had managed, as provost, to swallow up all the “portions” into which the revenues of the church had been divided, so that the church had virtually become an ordinary parochial church having several dependent chapels which were served by vicars appointed by the rector. At the dissolution these all vested in the Crown, and trouble began. The king’s vicar-

general and lord privy seal, Cromwell, had no intention of permitting the whole of the spoil to fall to the neighbouring squires, and accordingly handed over the advowsons of Llangaffo and Llangeinwen (or the "portions" represented by those churches in the aggregate revenues of Clynnog Fawr) to his nephew Gregory Williams, who managed to make good his possession by the aid of Sir Richard Bulkeley, though the latter was under suspicion of intriguing to obtain them for his cousin, Dr. Arthur Bulkeley. It is probable that Cromwell's nephew, copying a leaf from his rapacious uncle's book, disposed of the livings with the celerity with which he had seized them. Or Dr. Glyn, who evidently stood well in the good graces of the lord privy seal, may have made out his claim to them as being appendant to his rectory of Clynnog Fawr. At any rate he held them at his death, and they went to his successor at Clynnog, as we shall see. Sir Richard Bulkeley contrived to solace himself by the "portion" of the Clynnog revenues represented by Llandwrog, which he obtained for his brother William. Archdeacon Glyn was not so easily dislodged from Clynnog. An interesting letter of Sir Richard Bulkeley to Cromwell, dated the 8 May 1537, is abstracted in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic*, xii(1), No. 1154, as follows:—"Never was poor officer under the King so molested all through Dr. Glynn, who is now in London, and Edward Gruffith and their adherents, who would have no Englishmen to bear rule among them, while he [the writer] would prefer the King's right usurped by them, viz., the archdeaconry of Anglesey (worth £100 a year), the benefice of Clunnoch Vawer (worth 100 marks), and another called Llan Eign[ion] (worth £30). These are all the King's presentation, but the Dr. takes them by gift of the bishop. Desires a commission to inquire into it. Edward Gruffith 'holdeth both

fysh yards and quarrels where sclates be goten, and also an ile within the see where grapas be goten',¹ and other lands which belong to the King." Owing to these representations Dr. Glyn was called upon to reply to certain articles, the second of which related to his benefice of Clynnog Fawr, and to which he retorted that he was not "provost" of Clynnog, the church there not being collegiate but an "*ecclesia comportionata sive plebania*". The replies were evidently not satisfactory to the authorities, and the commission issued which is the subject of the present paper. But even before it met to take evidence upon the articles submitted to it Dr. Glyn was no more. He died some time in October 1537, in which month the provostship of Clenokvauure with the chapelries of Llan-geinwen and Llangaffo were bestowed by the Crown upon John Gwynedd, or Gwyneth as it is usually written, one of the most celebrated clergymen of his day. It is clear that the bishop considered it injudicious to press his claim to the presentation, or that he recognized that the evidence presented before the commission on behalf of the Crown was incontrovertible, and quietly relinquished his pretensions.

One of the most deplored losses of Welsh manuscript treasures is that of the book of Beuno called Tiboeth, which Dr. Thomas ap William is said to have seen in the year 1594. There can be little doubt but that it was identical with the volume mentioned by several of the witnesses at Carnarvon in 1537 as "*Graphus Sancti Beunoi*". It had then disappeared from Clynnog or it would doubtless have been produced, and there is every reason to fear that it does not now exist. From the appeal to its testimony it would seem to have been in the nature of a register of the collegiate property, with a list

¹ The allusion must be to Bardsey.

of the members of the chapter, and perhaps an occasional memorandum of important events that would be of inestimable value to modern scholars.

Many other interesting features of late mediæval life are illustrated by the document; and, not least, is the wealth of material it provides for the genealogist.

Public Record Office. Miscellanea of the Exchequer ¹⁰/₂₉.

Apud Caernarvon xiiij die Novembris anno regni regis
Henrici viii^{vi}, xxix^o [1537].

Herafter ensuyth the Deposic'ons and sayngs of every person and persons whiche were called before Edwarde Gryffith esquier, John Puleston esquier, Rolande Meuricke bacheler in the Lawe, and John Ramriche clerke, by vertue of the king's honourable Com'ission to theyn directed bering date at Westm' the xxjth day of October in the xxixth yere of our soveraigne lord king Henry theight concernyng the Right Title and Interest of and in the patronage of Clenocke Vawre w'in the countie of Caernarvon w' the churcheis and chapells therto belongyng or app'teynyng.

Apud Caernarvon xiiij die Novembris anno regni regis
Henrici viii^{ui} xxix^{no}.

. the deposic'ons and sayngs of ev'y p'son and p'sons whiche were called before Gryffith esquier, John Puleston esquier, Rolande Meuricke bacheler in the Ramwiche clerke by vertue of the King's hono'able com'ission to theym at Westm' the xxjth day of October in the xxixth yere of our Sou'ayne concernyng the right title and interest of and in the patronage the countie of Caernarvon wth the churches and chappells or appeteynyng.

Ffirst Rolaund Gruffith of the countie of Anglesey in Northwalles esquier of thage of xliij yeres, sworn and examyned upon his othe sayth and deposeth that the seid church of Clenocke Vawre is situate and lying wthin the towne of Clenok wherof the King is cheffe lorde,

and forasmuche as he doth understande and p'ceyve by a boke called Graphus S'ci Bewnoi, and also by the sight of certen letters patents graunted unto one Jeffrey Trefnant clerke by Kinge Edwarde the iiijth, and also hathe seen a copie of the King's records written wth the hande of Edmonde Griffithe then baron of the King's exchequer in North Walles that the seid church of Clenoke was of the King's presentac'on; and saythe that he herde by dyvers auncient and credible p'sons that one Mathew Pole clerke was presented by prynce Arthure to the seid church of Clenocke Vawre; therefore he saithe that the King's heighnes is veray patrone of the seid church wth Llangeynwen and Llangaffo and other churcheis and chapells therunto belongyng.

Mr. Lewes Newbur'ghe, clerke, Tresaurer of the cathedrall church of Bangor¹ of thage of lij yeres sworn and examyned upon his othe saith and deposithe that the saide church of Clenocke is situate and leyng in the seid town of Clenocke where the King's grace is chieffe lorde as the former deponent hathe saide, and forther saithe that he sawe one Mathew Pole clerke presented to be prepositor of Clenock Vaure by prince Arthure, and that the seid Mathew died incu'bent there. And also saithe that in King Henry the vijth's days, this deponent beyng then the King's S'rveieur of all his lands in North Walles, and that he then by reason of his office entred wth one Doctor Boothe then chancellour to prince Arthure, and one Mr. Lynan and others, to the King's tresory house at Caernarvon and there sawe and reade in the King's records that the seid church of Clenocke Vaure was in the presentac'on of the prynces of Walles and syns the subdiu'con [or subdm'con, for submission] of Walles the same was in the King's patronage; and furthermore saithe that he then putt a tagge to the seid recorde for a memory written with his owne hande etc.; and also saithe that the King's com'yssion was directed to John Puleston esquier, Owen Hollande esquier, and to Mr. Geiffrey Ruthyn clerke, by vertue of whice com'yssion they empanelled one Hoell ap Ieuan ap Gruffithe and other his co'mrours tenquere

¹ A marginal note in another hand adds :—"The surveyore of all the Kyng's lands in North Wales, in Kyng Henry the VIIth's days." Other marginal notes of a similar character appear to the different witnesses.

[to enquire] for the King's patronage in North Walles, whiche Hoell then beyng forman of the seid enquest founde that the seid church of Clenocke Vaure wth other churches and chapells was intruded by the bushoppe of Bangor to be of the King's patronage. And also saithe that the King's grace is verey patron of the seid church of Clenocke Vaure with the churchis and chapells thereto belongng.

Morgan Newbur'ghe, clerke, late preposito^r of the saide Clenocke vaure of thage of lxxij yeres and more, sworn and examyned upon his othe saithe and deposith that one Mr. Mathew Pole, clerke, had the b'n'fice of Clenocke vaure by the presentac'on of prynce Arthur, and so obteyned the same (against one Mr. Will'm Sagarde then beyng incu'bent of the seid church by the collac'on of the bushope of Bangor) and died preposito^r of the said church, after whose decesse this deponent hadde the seid prepositorship of Clenocke vaure by the collac'on of the seid bushope and therof had possession; and sone [soon] after this deponent was vexed by reason of the King's title to the seid patronage, as principally by vertue of a certen co'myssion directed by King Henry the vijth aboute the xxjth or xxijth yere of his raigne to John Puleston esquier, Owen Holland esquier and Jyffrey Ruthyn clerke to enqyre of and for all the King's patronage wthin the iij shires of North Walles, wherupon the seid co'mysmissioners empanelled iij enquests for the seid iij shyres of North Walles, and for Caernarvonshire they empanelled Hoell ap Lli' ap Ieuan ap Griffith as fforman of the seid enquest wth other his co'morers; and so this deponent saithe that he gave xxvjs. viij*d*. to the seid Owen Hollande to be his frende in the seid mater, and vjs. viij*d*. to John ap Madok ap Hoell then beyng deputie shireiffe of Caernarvonshire ou' [over] and besides xxs. whiche this deponent spent upon the seid enquest, bi [by] reason wherof this deponent did kepe his saide b'n'fice of Clenocke; and forther saith that he had loste his saide b'n'fice if he had not then labored his saide mater and had not gyven the forseide some of money at that tyme, and that by reason of the King's title etc. And also this depon't saithe that he supposithe that the seid Hoell ap Lli' and other his co'mrers did fynde the saide patronage of Clenocke vaure to be of the King's title as the right of his crowne, and

for the true knowledge of the seid verdict he refferith his knowledge to the seid Hoell ap Lli' forman of the seid jury wth other his fellowes; and forther saithe and deposithe that he had never resigned the seid b'n'fice of Clenocke vaure to doct^r Glynne nor to no other p'son but for feare of the King's title; and also saithe that he knowithe p'fectly the seid Clenocke to have bene a monastery of the p'nces [prince's] foundac'on, by vertue wherof he hath had p'fect knolage that the King's heighnes was and is veray patrone of the seid b'n'fice. Wherefore this deponent saithe that he was glad to be rid of the seid churche and to accept ij litle b'n'fices for the same.

Gruffithe ap John Coytmore of the countie of Caernarvon gentilman of thage of lxij yeres, sworn and examyned upon his othe saithe and deposithe that he herde sayd by many credible p'sons that the King's grace oughte to have the patronage of Clenocke vaure wth thapp'tennces and chapells thereunto belongyng; and further saythe that S^r Morgan Newburghe late incu'bent there did resigne the seid prepositure unto Doctor Will'm Glynne for feare lest that John ap Madoke ap Hoell late depute shireif of Caernarvonshyre shoulde cause an enquest of office to fynde the King's right in the saide patronage, and therefore toke ij other b'n'fices of the seid Doctor, beyng yerely valued at xiiij*li*. vjs. viiij*d*. bothe. And also saithe that he harde dyvers auncient credible p'sons saye that the saide churche was a religious house or monastery of the prynce's foundac'on. And also saithe that bifore the seid S^r Morgan Newburghe one S^r Mathew Pole had the presentac'on of the seid patronage throughe the guyfte of prince Arthur, and obteyned the same ageynst one Will'm Sagarde clerke then incu'bent of the seid churche by collac'on of the bushope, and the same Mathew Pole died incu'bent there, after whose decesse the bushop of Bangor and the seid S^r Morgan usurped upon the king's and the p'nce's right and possession in the seid patronage.

Hoell ap Lli' ap Ieuan ap Griffithe the King's controller in North Walles, ge'tilman, of thage of lx yeres and more, sworn and examyned upon his othe saithe and deposithe that the seid churche of Clenocke vaure is situate and leyng within the towne of Clenocke wher the King's grace is chieffe lorde of the same towne, and also saith that a co'mission was directed to John Puleston

esquier, Owen Holland esquier, and Mr. Jeiffrey Ruthyn clerke aboute the xxjth or xxijth yere of King Henry the vijth tenquiere of and upon all the King's patronage in North Walles, wherupon the seid co'myssioners by vertue of the seid co'mission empanelled this deponent and Hoell ap Gruff, ap Meredith ap Tegwarded, Morris ap Gruff, ap Ieuan, John ap Ieuan ap M[er]ed[ith], Res ap Ieuan ap John Carreke, Edmonde ap R's ap Gwellym, Rice ap Hoell ap Ieuan ap D'd, Will'm ap Hoell ap Ieuan ap D'd, Hoell ap Madocke ap Hoell, John Madryn and others to enquire of the gyfte and presentac'on of the seid patronages, and so this deponent and other his co'mrers upon thevidences and records to the' showed oute of the tresory house upon their othes founde (this deponent beyng forman of the seid enquest) that the King had the guifte and presentac'on of the seid patronage of Clenocke vaure and other churcheis many; and forther saithe in all things as Griffith ap John Coytmore, former deponent, hathe saide.

Hoell ap John ap Lli' of the countie of Caernarvon, gentilman, of thage of lxxx yeres or therabout, sworne and examyned upon his othe saithe and deposit that he saw one Jeiffrey Treyffnant clerke incu'bent of Clenocke vaure by the presentac'on of King Edward the iiijth, and occupied the same during his lyfe, wth whom this deponent was well acquaynted. And forther saithe that one Mathew Pole clerke had the seid church of Clenocke vaure throughe the presentac'on of prince Arthur, and occupied the same during his life by force wherof this depon't saithe that the King's grace oughte to have the patronage of the seid church. And also saith that the seid church was a monastery bfore this tyme of this p'nce's f'undac'on, and also saithe that this deponent went to prynce Arthur's court at Ludlow withe letters unto the seid Matheo Pole t'obtenye the seid b'n'fice to ferme from Will'm ap Gruffith ap Robyn esquier knowyng the seid Mathew Pole to be incu'bent of the seid church through the prince's presentac'on etc. And also saithe that the seid church of Clenocke is situate and lying in the towne of Clenocke whereof the King is chief lorde, etc.

Moris ap Hoell ap Gruffith ap Meredith of the countie of Caernarvon, gentilman, of thage of xliiij yeres, sworn and examyned upon his othe, saithe and deposithe

that the seid church of Clenocke is situate and lying wthin the seid towne of Clenocke, and that the King's grace is chiefe lorde of the same, and as fer furthe as he ever herde say the seid church of Clenocke is of the King's presentac'on; and forther saith that the saide church was a monastery as he doithe well knowe by a booke called Graphus S'ci Bewnoi and other writings. And also saith that Hoell ap Gruffith ap Meredith, father to this deponent was fermo^r unto the seid Mathew Pole late incu'bent of the seid church, and as he harde say, the same Mathew had the seid church throughe the presentac'on of prince Arthur, and occupied the same during his life, etc.

Madoke ap Gwilym of the countie of Caernarvon, yeoman, of thage of lxxx yeres or theraboute, sworn and examyned upon his othe saith and deposithe that the seid church of Clenocke is situate and lying wthin the towne of Clenocke as the other deponents have bifore saide. And saythe that he saw Jeiffrey Treifnant, clerke, beyng p'son in Clenocke vaure throughe the guyfte and p'sentac'on of King Edward the iiijth, and that the seid Jeiffrey obteyned the same by the helpe of his kynsmen Edward Beawpy and Piers Beawpy beyng then the king's s'uants, and that this deponent did co'men [commune] wth the seid Geiffrey then incu'bent of the seid church of Clenocke vaure cons'nyng [concerning] the patronage of the same church, and the seid Geiffrey shewed this deponent dyv's tymes that he had the saide b'n'fice by the King's p'sentac'on as is abovesaide, and this deponent was hired s'uant with the saide Jeiffrey the space of vj yeres bi reason wherof this deponent had p'fect knowledge by familier co'municac'on in the premisses; and forther deposithe that Mathew Pole clerke obteyned the seid b'n'fice of Clenocke by the presentac'on of prince Arthur, and decessed p'son there, as dyv's of the countrey do well knowe.

Thomas ap Gruffithe ap Jenkyn ap Res of the countie of Caernarvon, gentilman, of thage of xlvij yeres, sworn and examyned upon his othe saithe and deposithe that the said church is situate wthin the towne of Clenocke, in maner and forme as the former deponent hath saide. And also saithe that he harde D'd ap Hoell ap Ieuan ap Hoell say unto Morgan Newburghe clerke (beyng p'son of

Clenocke vaure throughe the bushop's collac'on after the decesse of Mathew Pole clerke) that the seid Morgan oughte not to be p'son there inasmuche as the King's grace ought of right to have the patronage of the seide church. And therupon the seid D'd ap Hoell enformed John ap Madocke ap Hoell then deputie shireif of Caernarvonshire of the p'misses, wherupon the seid John ap Madocke empanell[ed] an enquest upon the triall of the same, and so the seid Sr Morgan for feare of losing the seide church made an exchaynge with Doctor Will'm Glyn for other ij b'n'fits valued bothe at xxti marks.

Gruffithe ap Ieuan ap Gruffithe of the countie of Caernarvon, gentilman, of thage of lx yeres, sworn and examyned upon his othe saith and deposith that he was familiarly acquaynted wth Jeiffrey Treifnant then beyng incu'bent of Clenoke vaure, and that the saide Jeiffrey Treifnant at dyu'se and soundry tymes declared and showed unto this deponent that King Edward the iiijth presented hym in the seide church of Clenocke vaure, and that he obteyned his presentac'on at the instance of his kynsmen Edwarde Beawpy and Peirs Beawpy beyng then the King's s'uants; and forther saith that he sawe one Mathewe Polè clerke presented to the seide church of Clenocke by prynce Arthur; and forther saith that he was present in the King's Exchequer at Caernarvon when he harde one Rob't Sittall then chamb'layne of North Walles desire the seide Mathew Pole to institute and make one Hughe Maynan clerke his fermor of the seide church of Clenocke, inasmuche as he had holpen him to the same, wherunto the seide Mathew answered and saide that he had sett the p'misses to one Rob't ap Meredith, gentilman, and that he obteyned the seide church by vertue of the King's gifte, and not by his helpe only; and also saith that the saide church is wthin the seide towne of Clenocke as is aforesaide.

Edmonde Lewis, p'son of Egglosaill [Llangadwaladr, co. Anglesey] of thage of lxxij yeres, sworn and examyned upon his othe saith and deposith that the saide church of Clenocke is situate wthin the towne of Clynocke where the King's highnes is chief lorde of the same towne. And also saith that the seide church was sometyme an abbey of the prync's foundac'on; and forther saith that he harde dyverse credible auncient

p'sons saye that one Maister Jeyffrey Treifnant was presented to the seid church by King Edward the iiijth; and forther saithe that he sawe one Mathew Pole clerke presented by prynce Arthur to be preposito^r of the seid church of Clenocke, and died preposito^r there; and forther saith that he saw a cedill [schedule] in the whiche was written that Clenocke vaure was in the King's patronage, whiche cedill was in the custody of Doctor Moric' Glyn then this deponent's maister, and that the seid cedill was copied unto the seid doctor out of the King's records then remaynyng in the King's thresorye at Caernarvon.

Richard Gybbon of the countie of Caernarvon, gentleman, regester [registrar] to the bushope of Bangor of thage of xl yerres or therabout, sworn and examyned upon his othe saithe and deposithe that he saw a bryf and kalendar of the handwrytyng of John Ffoxwist, beyng clerke of the King's exchequer and sercher of the King's tresory house, that the King's grace shoulde have the presentac'on and patronage of Clenocke vaure; and forther saith as he harde say that S^r Matheo Pole was p'son there, throughe whose p'sentac'on he knoweth not; and also saith that he harde say that the seid church was a monastery of the prince's foundac'on.

John ap Hoell ap Matto of the countie of Caernarvon, yoman, of thage of lxxey and more, sworn and examyned upon his othe saith and deposeth that the seid church of Clenocke is sett and lying wthin the seid towne of Clynocke where the King's grace is chief lorde of the seide towne; and also saithe that the King's grace oughte to have the gifte of the seid church of Clenocke vaure, and that Jeiffrey Treyfnant was p'son there by the King's guyfte as he harde saye for verey trouthe by this deponent's father and other his elders whiche were nye [nigh] neybour to the seid Jeiffrey Treifnant, and of famylier acquayntance. And forther saithe that one Mathew Pole clerke, had the seid church of Clenocke by the p'sentac'on of prynce Arthur, and that the seid Mathew openly reported the same before all the p'ishioners in the seid church of Clenocke, this deponent then present, with many others. And forther this depon't saith that he harde saye that Ffoulke Salisbury clerke had the same church of Clenocke by p'sentac'on of King Henry the viith in the begynnyng of his reigne.

Will'm Gruffithe of the countie of Caern' gentilman of thage of lj yeris, sworn and examyned upon his othe saithe that the seid church is sett wthin the seid towne of Clynnocke wherof the King is chief lorde. And forther saithe that Mathew Pole, clerke, was presented to the same church of Clenocke vaure by prynce Arthur, and that the seid Mathew Pole died p'son there, and as he supposith the King's heighnes is veray patrone therof.

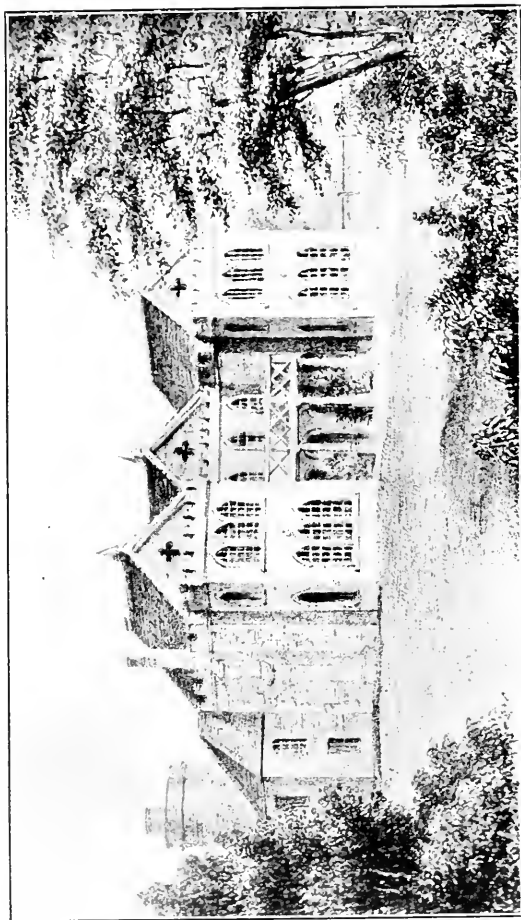
Gruffithe ap D'd ap Robert of the countie of Caernarvon, gentilman, of thage of xxx yeris, sworn and examyned upon his othe, saith and deposithe that he harde dyverse and soundry credible p'sones say that the church of Clenocke vaure was in tyme paste a monastery called th'abbey of Clenocke; and forther saithe that he harde say comenly that one Mathew Pole clerke was presented by p'nce Arthur to the seid church of Clenocke vaure; and forther saithe that the same church is situate wthin the towne of Clenocke, wherof the king's heghnes is chief lorde.

Robert Cumb[er]batche, burges of the towne of Caernarvon, of thage of xxxviii yeris, sworn and examyned upon his othe saith and deposithe that he hathe seen and knoithe where a writing is of the handewriting of Edmonde Gruffithe conf'myng the patronage of Clenocke tpe. H. iijti [tempore Henrici IVti] after thes words folowyng Nota q' diu'si luerunt penas [sic] pro fraudulenta et iniusta possessione captam eccl'ia [sic] de Clenocke vaure que est ex fundac'oe et donac'oe d'ni principis, etc.

Will'm ap Robert ap M'ed' of the countie of Caernarvon in North Walles, esquier for the king's body of thage of xxvj yeris, Edmonde Lloid ap Robert ap Meredith of the seid countie, gentilman, of thage of lj yeris, Gruffithe ap Will'm ap Madocke vich'n of the same countie, gentilman, of thage of lviiij yeris, Wil'm ap Hoell ap Madock of the same countie, gentilman, of thage of xlviiij yeris, John ap Rob't ap Lli' ap Ithell of the seid countie, gentilman, of thage of xlviiij yeris, Gruffithe Lewes of the seid countie, gentilman, of thage of lx yeris, John Spicer, burges of the towne of Caernarvon, gentilman, of thage of lx yeris, Thomas Bulkeley burges of the town of Bewmares, gentilman, of thage of l yeris, Ieuan Coytmore, burges of the towne of Caernarvon, gentilman, of thage of lx yeris, Will'm Byesley burges of the same towne of

the age of xxxviij yeres, Ritherch ap D'd ap Ieuⁿ ap Edeneved of the countie of Anglesey, gentilman, of thage of lvj yeres, Hughe Maynan clerke, of thage of lxxvj yeres, Thom^s ap Gruffithe ap Jenkyn ap Res of the countie of Caernarvon, gentilman, of thage of xlvij yeres, Will^m ap Rynalde ap Meredith of the countie of Merionethe, gentilman, of thage of xxxvj yeres, William Coytmore of the countie of Caernarvon, gentilman, of thage of xxix yeres, David ap Robert ap Meredith of the countie of Caernarvon, gentilman, of thage of lvi [yeres], Madoke ap Ieuⁿ ap Gruffithe of the same countie, gentilman, of thage of lx yeres, Rob't ap Will^m ap Meredith ap Res of the seid countie, gentilman, of the age of lij yeres, Rob't ap Res ap Hoell ap Ieuⁿ vich'n of the same countie, gentilman, of thage of lvij yeres, Hughe ap John Madryn of the seid countie, gentilman, of the age of lvj yeres, Richarde ap Moris ap Gruffith ap Ieuⁿ of the same countie, gentilman, of thage of xxxviij yeres, Ieuⁿ ap Hoell ap Ieuⁿ ap Gwillym of the countie of Anglesey, gentilman, of thage of lxxvj yeres, Hughe ap Will^m ap Ieuⁿ ap D'd Bangor of the countie of Caernarvon, gentilman, of thage of xliij yeres, John ap Res ap Gwillym of the seid countie, gentilman, of thage of lvj yeres, Gruffith ap Lli' ap Grono of thage of lxxvj yeres of the same countie, gentilman, Robert ap John ap Meredith ap Tygwared of the seid countie, gentilman, of thage of xxxvj yeres, John ap Hoell gwynneth of the same countie, gent., of thage of xxxviij yeres, Yer' [Iorwerth] ap Lli' ap Ieuⁿ ap Hulkyn of the same countie, gent., of thage of lx yeres, Will^m ap Ris ap Hoell of the seid countie, gentilman, of the age of lvj yeres, Moris Gethyn ap Ieuⁿ ap Res of the same countie, gent., of thage of lij yeres, David ap Rob't ap D'd ap Ieuⁿ vich'n of the same countie, gentilman, of the age of lv yeres, Rob't ap Meredith ap D'd of the countie of Caernarvon, yoman, of thage of lxiiij yeres, Robert ap Res ap Griffithe of the same countie, yoman, of thage of lvj yeres, Lewes Gwyn of the seid countie, gentilman, of thage of lij yeres, Owen ap D'd ap Robyn of thage of xlvij yeres and Gruffithe vich'n ap Gruff ap D'd of the seid countie yoman of thage of liiij yers, sworn and examyned do saye fynde and depose upon their othes that the King's highnes is the veray patrone of the seid churche of Clenocke vaure with churches and chapells therunto

belongyng or apperteynyng, and that his grace ought to present an incu'bent there as in the right of his crowne and non other, inasmoche as the seid church before this tyme was of the prync's foundac'on, and by the subducc'on [subjection] of Walles the saide church was of the King's patronage as in the right of his crowne and dignitie, as playnly did appere by records l'res patents and evidences to thes deponents showed and declared. In wytenes wherof we the saide Co'myssioners to all and every deposicions and sayngs above rehersed, and other the premisses have sett our sialles and subscribed our names the day and yere afore specified.



OLD WHADDON HALL (Circ. 1705).

Reproduced from Lipscomb's "History of Buckinghamshire".

The Selby Romance.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE WELSH CLAIMS TO A
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE ESTATE.

By FRANCIS GREEN.

THERE are probably few suits which have presented more romantic features or afforded more openings for the imagination than those relating to the ownership of the Selby estate, which included the property called Whaddon Chase in Buckinghamshire. In the first place, repeated actions with a view of recovering the property have been brought during the past 120 years, the last in fact having been decided in favour of the present owner as recently as in 1900. In the next place, there are various misconceptions as to the nature of the property in question prevalent in different parts of the country; and thirdly, genealogists have been, and possibly still are, striving to discover the lost heir. At first sight an account of legal proceedings to recover an estate in England which belonged to an English family would scarcely seem appropriate for a journal devoted to Welsh interests, but as a matter of fact one of the earliest claimants was a member of a Pembroke-shire family, and if I am not mistaken the last action was brought by an assignee of a descendant of the same line.

That the Selby case was of widespread interest is evidenced by the fact that a history of the Selby family was published in 1825. The work, which is entitled *Selbyana*, was printed by Francis Jollie, of Carlisle, and

the edition was probably but small, as copies of it are scarce. The story, as told by the author, may be briefly summarised as follows :—

Richard Selby, the founder of the family, who was born on the borders of the Solway Frith, left his native county precipitately about 1628 through fear of “a criminal and even felonious offence by him committed”, and eventually turned up at Salford, in Bedfordshire. His baptism is officially recorded in 1609; he was buried at Salford, and was said to have been a schoolmaster. His wife’s name was Isabella, but her family and county were unknown. The marriage was probably solemnised before he left Cumberland; he had (° two) sons, James and William, the latter, whether son or brother, died in 1635 and was buried at Salford. James was twice married and was the father of a numerous family. His mother Isabella died in 1644-5 and was buried at Salford where she probably resided after she became a widow in 1634. There is no record of James’s baptism in Salford, so probably he was born in the north, or before his father settled in that town. In 1647 James Selby entered the Inner Temple and was there described as of Salford. He administered his mother’s effects in that year. He married, about 1630, Hester Sandys, daughter of Henry Sandys, of Little Horwood, or Harwood, on the confines of Whaddon Chase in Buckinghamshire. According to Mr. Pitt,¹ Rector of Great Brickhill, in Buckinghamshire, James, the eldest son of Richard Selby, was the first of the family to settle in that county, and was a “scrivener of no distinction, and no one can trace the family beyond him.” Sir Walden Hanmer, Bart.,² who was about eighty years of age, more than forty years ago informed Mr. Cole, the antiquary, that the first of the Selbys at Wavendon was retained as a domestic or agent by the family of Charnocke, who lived at Hulcot, in Bedfordshire. Hester Sandys died in 1654 and was buried at Little Horwood, leaving, it is believed, no issue. In 1655 James

¹ Letter from Rev. T. Pitt, dated 19 January 1773, to Mr. Cole (Cole’s MSS., Brit. Mus. *Add. MS.* No. 5,840).

² Mr. Cole’s MS. says:—“I was told by Mr. Walden Hanmer in 1765 . . . that the Sergeant’s father was a domestic servant of the Charnock family of Holcok, and originally came out of Yorkshire.” *Add. MSS.*, Brit. Mus., No. 5,839).

Selby took as his second wife Margaret, daughter of John Wells, and shortly afterwards moved to Wavendon, where he acquired property and built a residence. He died in 1688, and had by his wife, Margaret, six children, viz. :—Rebecca, James, Hannah, Charles, Margaret and William. Rebecca, the eldest daughter, appears to have died unmarried in 1692. James, the second child, afterwards Serjeant-at-Law, married Mary, daughter of Sir Rowland Alston, of Odel, Bedfordshire. Hannah, the third child, died in 1665, when six years old. Charles, the fourth child, was born in 1662 but nothing is known as to him; it would seem that he went abroad, and the author states that Thomas James Selby, the last of his name, used to say that “his heir was at sea, unless the fishes has got him.” Margaret, the fifth child, married William Langston, of Husborne Crawley, a staunch Roman Catholic; she died in 1737, and was survived by her husband for some twelve years. William, the sixth child, entered the Inner Temple in 1694, and died at the age of fifty-five; he owned a small estate at Husborne Crawley, and it is believed that he left a widow. His first wife Elizabeth died in 1728 and “his supposed second wife’s name has been told me in confidence, but we forbear to mention it”. His property ultimately vested in his nephew Thomas James Selby; “two ladies are spoken of as living there; who are they? surmises will intrude”.

Serjeant James Selby, the son of James Selby and Margaret Wells, was born in 1658 and died in 1724. From his marriage with Mary Alston he had two children, Mary who was born in 1716 and died in 1717, and Thomas James Selby, who was born in 1717 and was buried at Wavendon in 1772.

Such is the story told by the historian of the Selby family, and we will now see how far it is borne out by available records. The first document is the administration of the goods of Isabella Selby of Salford, which was granted in 1647 to her son James Selby, but there is nothing to prove that he was the James Selby who married Margaret Wells. I have found no will or administration of James Selby, but his son, Serjeant James Selby, executed a somewhat lengthy testament, which however does not afford much information as to his relatives. In effect, the testator, after bequeathing legacies to his

wife and to charities, devises his property to his son Thomas James Selby, who was then under age, with remainder, in the event of his dying without issue before attaining his majority, to William, the testator's brother, subject to an annuity to his sister Langston. The only other relatives mentioned in the will, which was proved in 1724, are: "my brother and sister Selby" and "aunt Lewin."

The will of Mrs. Mary Selby, the wife of James Selby, proved in 1729, mentions the testatrix's "brother Selby" and her "sister Langston"; also her son Thomas James Selby, who is made residuary legatee subject to certain legacies, and a bequest to "dear Dolly Selby" of twenty guineas. The identity of this Dolly Selby is unknown, but it is probable, from the phraseology employed, that she was a relative of the family, as the only other person to whom the epithet "dear" is applied in the will is the testatrix's son, Thomas James Selby. The author of *Selbyana* suggests that she was an illegitimate daughter of the Serjeant, who afterwards married a person of the name of Medcraft, and that her issue eventually set up an idle claim to the estate, as heir-at-law of Thomas James Selby, but there is no proof that this is the case.

Thomas James Selby on attaining his majority came into possession of the estate, which is stated by *Selbyana* to have been worth £10,000 per annum. His will, with a codicil, was proved in 1772, and as the dispositions contained in them have given rise to the numerous suits in regard to the Selby estate, they are worth more than a passing notice. After directions as to interment and his grave, which was to be marked by no monument or inscription, he devised to his right and lawful heir-at-law, "for the better finding out of whom I direct advertisements to be published immediately after my decease, in some of ye public

papers," the manors of Whaddon and Nash, Whaddon Hall and all his property in the parishes of Whaddon, Nash, Great Horwood, Little Horwood, Singleborough, Tattenhoe, Mursley, Salden and Bletchley, in Buckinghamshire, subject to numerous legacies, among the beneficiaries being the following :—"My cousin" Temperance Bedford, daughter of the late Mr. Arthur Bedford, Minister, of Sharnbrooke, in Bedfordshire; Mr. Franklin, who married Miss Elizabeth Wells; Miss Nelly Wells and Mrs. Franklin, late Katherine Wells; and Mrs. Ann Kent, sister of Temperance Bedford.

In the event of his heir-at-law not being found the testator constituted Mr. William Lowndes, of Winslow, Buckinghamshire, then a Major in the Militia, his lawful heir, on condition that he changed his name to Selby. The testator devised his property in St. Clement's Churchyard, in the parish of St. Clement's-le-Danes, London, his property in Ely, in Cambridgeshire, and his manor of Westingford Bury, in the county of Hertford, to trustees for sale, the proceeds to be divided in equal shares between the Foundling Hospital, Magdalen House, and the Asylum in Lambeth parish, London. According to *Selbyana*, however, these charitable bequests, owing to legal impediments, were never carried into effect. To Mrs. Elizabeth Hone, *alias* Vane, who, the author of *Selbyana* says, was the mistress of the testator, was given for her life all dividends from Bank and South Sea Stock, the testator's dwelling-house at Wavendon and all property at Wavendon, Grove, Husborne Crawley, Heath and Roath, in the counties of Buckingham and Bedford. Temperance Bedford was made residuary legatee, and Mrs. Hone was appointed one of the executors.

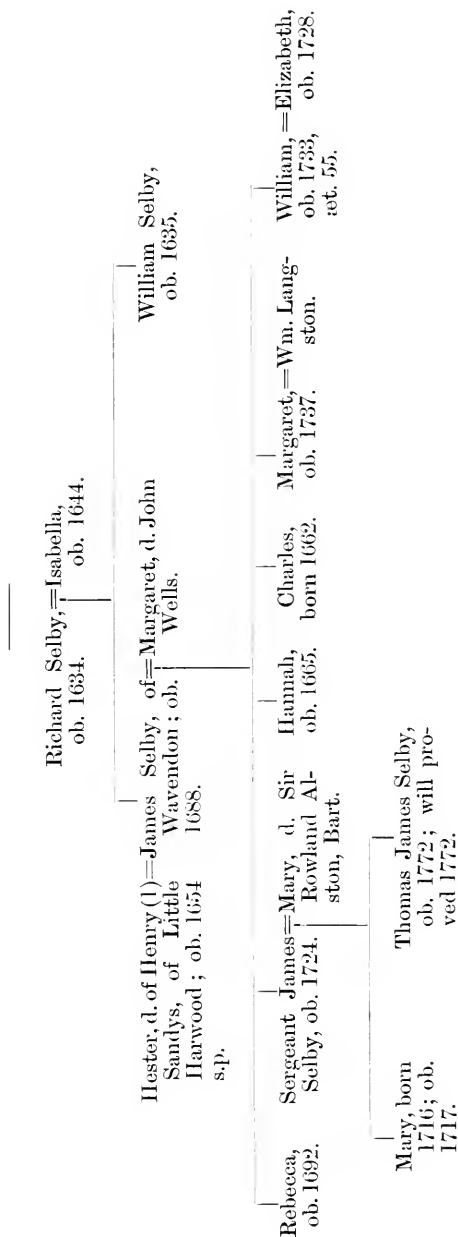
After the death of Thomas James Selby, the following advertisement was inserted in the public papers :—

TO HEIRS AT LAW.—If any person can prove himself or herself to be the heir at law of Thomas James Selby, late of Wavendon, in the county of Buckingham, Esq., such person by the will of the said Thomas James Selby, which is proved in Doctors Commons, London, is entitled to Whaddon Chase and other considerable estates in the said county of Buckinghamshire. Enquire of Mr. Ambrose Reddall, Attorney-at-law, Evershott, near Woburn, in the county of Bedford. N.B.—No letter to Mr. Reddall will be received unless post paid.

Whether this invitation found an immediate response I do not know, but in 1775 a person named¹ Oliver Thorne brought an action against Mr. Lowndes to recover the property, but without success, and in the same year Welsh claimants began to collect evidence in North Pembrokeshire, a district which produced at least four or five alleged heirs-at-law. So far as I have been able to ascertain, most of these claimed through a Thomas Selby, of Nevern, who was alleged to be the father of James Selby, the grandfather of Thomas James Selby. In view of the descent given by the author of *Selbyana*, it is not easy to see how the Buckinghamshire Selbys had any connection with Wales. It will be remembered that the father of the first James Selby was said to be Richard Selby, whereas the Welsh claim appears to have been based on the theory that his name was Thomas. Curiously enough another version of the Selby genealogy is given in Lipscomb's *History of Buckinghamshire*, published in 1847, which states that the grandfather of Thomas James Selby was Thomas Selby, of Gloxhall, in Leicestershire, who was baptised in 1609, and in 1635 married Mary Smith. The same authority says that Thomas Selby had a son James, born in 1742, and a daughter Mary, baptised in 1643, who married William Smith, and that Thomas Selby died in 1643. Now it is practically certain that Serjeant

¹ Coles' MS., Brit. Mus.

(According to Selbyana.)



James Selby, the father of Thomas James Selby, married Margaret Wells, and in view of the date given by Lipscomb for the death of Thomas Selby, it suggests that a generation has been omitted between Thomas Selby and his alleged son.

Let us now turn to the Welsh claims. Some interesting light is thrown on these claimants by a pamphlet in Dr. Henry Owen's possession which was printed about 1785, and entitled, "An authentic narrative of the singular and surprising conduct of Sir Watkin Lewes, knight, respecting his detention and concealment of an old Latin deed, delivered to him about ten years ago, for the purpose of making out and establishing the title of a poor person in Pembrokeshire, to the large estate of Thomas Selby, late of Wavendon, in the county of Bucks, Esq., who died in the year 1772." This pamphlet was written by John Duffield, who is described as "formerly of Medmenham Abbey, in the county of Bucks, but now of the parish of St. Pancras, in the county of Middlesex, gent." How he came to be mixed up in the matter will be best told in his own words :—

John Duffield, of the parish of St. Pancras, in the county of Middlesex, gentleman, about eleven years ago, was applied to by Diana Bowen and Ann Thomas, two sisters, and near relations to the supposed heir-at-law to the large estate of Thomas James Selby, late of Wavendon, in the county of Bucks, Esq., deceased; and who relating a variety of circumstances which in Duffield's estimation gave some probability of establishing a title, and lamenting their inability to pursue the enquiry, he advanced money to Mrs. Bowen to carry her to Wales, and gave her in writing the best instructions he was capable of, for obtaining information in the business; and some matters coming out agreeable to his conjectures, he received a number of letters from several of the relations, who strongly importuned him to come to Wales, and accordingly, in the year 1777, he went and stayed there about a month, and

having collected every information he could on the subject, on his return to London he laid a state of evidence before counsel, who thought favourably of the case ; but as there was in existence an old Latin deed which was known to relate to the family, urged the necessity of procuring that deed, which about a year before had been delivered to Sir Watkin Lewes, at Cardigan, for the purpose of making out a title to the estate in question, who then declared it belonged to the Selbys, and expressed great satisfaction in its efficacy for the intended purpose ; and since often said that the claimants should not want a friend, and that he would put on his gown and plead the cause ; but a short time showing that his professions of friendship had no meaning, or no good one, numerous fruitless applications were made to him for a return of the deed, within a few months after he received it, and for a long time afterwards, but to this hour no person can be found who hath ever seen the deed since it was delivered to him at Cardigan. Some he told it was mislaid, but that it was witnessed by James Selby. One he told that it was witnessed by James Solby, and not by James Selby. To some he said that the names James Selby and Margaret Wells were often repeated in the deed ; to another he said that those names were written towards the bottom of the deed. Others he told that the deed would be hurtful to the cause ; some he informed that it would cut their throats, drawing his finger across his neck. Sometimes he declared that he had read it, but could not remember one tittle of its contents ; at other times that he could not understand it, but that he knew it to be as useless as waste paper. But the hopes derived by these poor people, as well from his declaring it belonged to the Selbys as from a report, universally credited, that the names Jacobus Selby and Margareta Wells were frequently repeated therein, encouraged them to take several journeys to London and divers other places in search of other evidence, and to get the deed from Sir Watkin, whereby a very considerable sum of money was expended, and many calamitous events are imputed to the treacherous detention of the deed. But the case of Thomas Selby, a little Welsh farmer, seems singularly affecting. This poor man, from his confidence in Sir Watkin's declaration about the deed, raised (as is reported) about £25 by sale of his cows, sheep, pigs, etc., as a joint contribution with several other of the relations towards the intended suit, which he paid to Benjamin Twynning, it having been agreed to send him to London to procure the deed from Sir Watkin, and commence

a suit for the recovery of the estate ; but the money being spent without obtaining the deed, and despairing to repair the loss, he is said to have died with grief, and was shortly after followed to the grave by his disconsolate wife, who left behind her eight orphan children, languishing under the miseries of helpless poverty.

Joseph Davis, another little Welsh farmer, tempted by the same flattering declarations of Sir Watkin, hazarded a much larger sum in journeys to various places, and three to London, died, and left his substance much impaired, to the great injury of his family, and as to Twynning, the agent, he was so much involved in debt as to be compelled to go to sea, and leave his wife and four children dependent on the bounty of his friends.

. It was often intimated to Duffield that the supposed heir-at-law was desirous to empower him to commence and carry on the suit : and he, being a considerable sum out of pocket, determined to hazard the attempt, complied with the request, and accepted such a power accordingly ; and Mr. Lloyd, the owner of the deed, wishing also to see the business forwarded without any hazard to himself, executed a power to Duffield to sue for the deed, either in his name or in his own name, regarding the deed of no value whatsoever for any other purpose than that of establishing the right of the person who should appear to be entitled to the estate in question, by showing the connection and relationship between the Pembrokeshire and Buckinghamshire Selbys.

Under the advice of counsel, Duffield, in Hilary Term 1784,¹ filed a Bill against Sir Watkin Lewes under his own name by virtue of the letter of attorney given him by Mr. Lloyd. But before going any further it will be well to see who were the parties interested. On this point we get some light from the affidavits to the suit which are given in the pamphlet. In his affidavit sworn 15 April 1785 William Lloyd, who gave the power of attorney to Duffield, deposed that about ten or eleven years previously he was applied to by several persons who claimed a right to the estate of Thomas James Selby, and a deed, as they

¹ I have searched for this case in the indices for Chancery Bills in the Record Office, but without success.—F. G.





TREVIGIN—East Aspect.

(From a Photo by F. Green in 1903.)



TREVIGIN—South Aspect.

(From a Photo by F. Green in 1903.)

had been informed, was to be found amongst the deponent's papers, then at Trevigin,¹ where deponent then lived, wherein the name of Selby was inserted ; that upon searching amongst his papers he found the document amongst some of the papers in the possession of his uncle, William Lloyd of Trevigin, then deceased ; and that the deponent then went to Cardigan and delivered the deed to Sir Watkin Lewes for his opinion on it, the deed being in Latin.

John Lloyd of Vagwrgoch, gentleman, in his affidavit deposed that he had been informed that some years previously one Jeremiah James requested deponent's brother, William Lloyd of St. Dogmaels, to permit him to search his family writings for a deed reported to have been executed by James Selby, and that on such search he found an old Latin deed wherein the names of Jacobus Selby and Margaretta Wells were several times written ; that the said Jeremiah James and William Lloyd took the deed to Sir Watkin Lewes, at Cardigan, when, as deponent had been informed, Sir Watkin declared that the deed belonged to the Selbys or to the Selby estate, and that he could put Jane Richards, the person then claiming the estate, in possession of it in six months, if she could keep back Thomas or Philip.

This statement is pretty well borne out by the affidavit of Jeremiah James, who adds that the maiden name of Jane Richards was Jane Selby. Now Jane Richards, as appears by her affidavit, was the wife of John Richards of Hodgson (probably Hodgeston), in Pembrokeshire, a labourer. She corroborates the assertion as to Sir Watkin's admission that the deed belonged to the Selbys or to the Selby estate, and as to the name of Margaret Wells and of Selby appearing therein. She further

¹ In Moylegrove parish ; formerly spelt "Treviggin".—F. G.

asserted that Sir Watkin stated that she was the right heir to the Selby estate, and that by virtue of the deed he would put her in possession thereof in a short time. This evidence was fully borne out by the affidavit made by Thomas Williams of Manorbeer, a farmer, which was sworn in August 1786 before Mr. William Williams of Ivy Tower, a J.P. for the county and one of Pembrokeshire's by-gone archæologists. The reference to Thomas and Philip Selby in the affidavit of John Lloyd is explained in this document. According to Williams, Sir Watkin stated that the deed plainly showed that the estate belonged to Jane Richards, if Thomas and Philip Selby were illegitimate, as was reported; in reply to which Williams said that he thought it could be proved that they were; on which Sir Watkin told Jane Richards not to enter into any agreement with any person in regard to the estate. Another claimant who was referred to by Duffield in his account given above was Joseph Davis of Trecllyn, Pembrokeshire, on whose behalf and others a certain William Davis about 1780 attempted to obtain the famous deed from Sir Watkin Lewes, but without success.

We must now return to the suit instituted by Duffield. According to Duffield's account, Sir Watkin in his answer to the Bill admitted the receipt of the deed, which was "written in Latin on a skin of parchment or vellum"; he "found the handwriting so extremely bad and imperfect, and the words so much obscured by abbreviations and other peculiarities that it would be impossible for him to decypher the same or to understand the effect and meaning of the deed." He also stated that "upon seeing the name of Selby at the bottom of the deed, and it being reported that Thomas James Selby, or his ancestors, had been at Trevigin, the house of William Lloyd, in Pem-

brokeshire, and lived there with the ancestors of the said William Lloyd, and that he had gone from thence to Buckinghamshire, as could be proved by one Henry Pugh, who had been in Buckinghamshire, but then lived at Haverfordwest, it appeared to him (Sir Watkin) that some use might be made of the said deed, and that it might possibly tend to show the connection (if any) which subsisted between the said families."

Sir Watkin further said that on examining Henry Pugh in regard to the family of Thomas James Selby, he gave such inconsistent accounts of the matter, and also of the time when Thomas James Selby left Trevigin, "making the date some twenty or thirty years sooner or later than was reported in the country," that "he was obliged to reprimand him for having imposed on the credulity of so many ignorant persons." He denied that he ever asserted that the deed belonged to the Selby estate, or that he ever pretended that he could recover the estate for any of the parties by virtue of the deed. As to the whereabouts of the deed he believed that it was left with Thomas Morgan, Esq., of Carmarthen, a gentleman of fortune, who had been brought up to the profession of the law, and whom he recommended the claimants to employ in the matter. That the widow of said Thomas Morgan had replied to a letter sent by Sir Watkin, stating that she had seen some deed or paper with the name of Selby amongst the papers of her late husband, and that she believed that it was then in the custody of Thomas Jones of Carmarthen.

We now come to the conclusion of the suit. According to Duffield's account he was repeatedly advised by his counsel, while waiting for the case to be heard, to strike it out of the paper, as otherwise it would inevitably be dismissed with costs, the chief reasons assigned being that

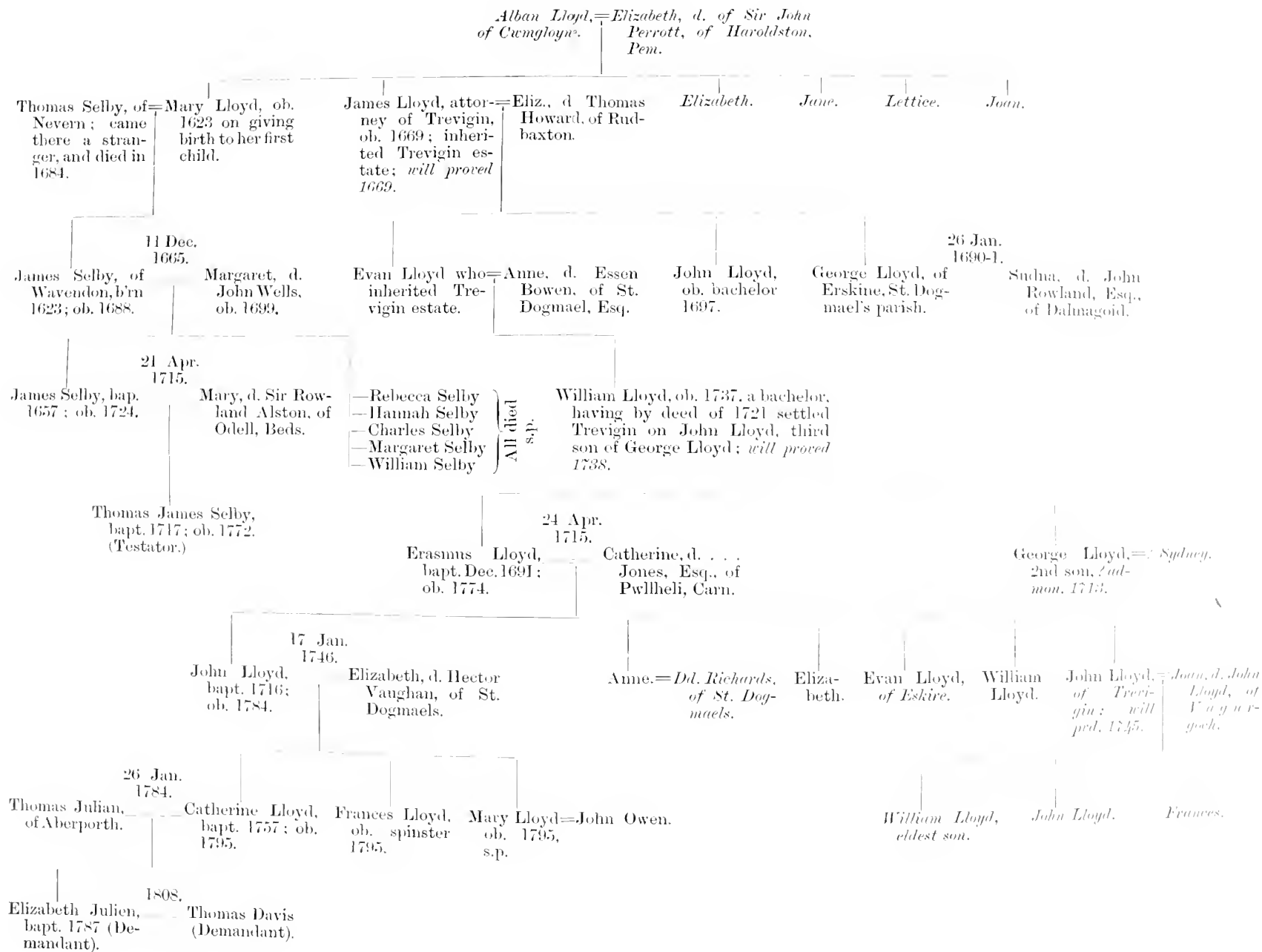
the Bill was brought in Duffield's name instead of that of his principal. Duffield declined, and shortly afterwards his solicitor informed him that counsel had refused to have anything more to do with the case. As a result Duffield allowed it to be struck out, and resolved on the publication of a pamphlet to justify his conduct.

So far as can be discovered from Duffield's account, the claimants mentioned by him appear to have been all alleged descendants of the Selbys, but claimants through marriage also tried their luck. The Bill in the case of *Lowndes v. Selby* in 1776, states that claims were set up by Rachel Medcraft of the Liberty of Westminster, spinster, Ellen Wells of Wavendon, spinster, John Franklin of Bedford, maltster, and his wife Catherine (*nee* Wells), Henrietta and Elizabeth Franklin of Wavendon, spinsters, Sir Thomas Alston, Bart., of Odel, Bedfordshire, Samuel Selby, Oliver Thorne of Charles Street, Westminster, and Elizabeth King, widow. It was argued by the orator, and eventually upheld by the Court, that Elizabeth Wells, John Franklin and his wife Catherine, Henrietta and Elizabeth Franklin and Sir Thomas Alston were not admissible, as none of them claimed kindred to Thomas James Selby on the part of his father, or as being of the blood of the Selbys, which appeared to be the intention of the testator. That the testator knew that Sir Thomas Alston was his first cousin and heir-at-law on the part of his mother, and that Ellen Wells, Henrietta and Elizabeth Franklin were his cousins and heirs-at-law on the part of his grandmother, whose maiden name was Wells; that Henrietta and Elizabeth Franklin lived in the same parish as the testator, and the said Catherine Franklin in the town of Bedford, while Temperance Bedford was the testator's cousin, and then the wife of Daniel Shipton, clerk, and related to the testator on the part of his



THE SELBY PEDIGREE.—CHART II.

(Pedigree in the suit DAVIES v. LOUNDES.—The portions in Italics are added by F. Green.)



mother, so that the testator could not have meant heirs on his mother's or grandmother's side, but left the property to the orator, provided no heir-at-law were found on the part of the said testator's father, or of the blood of the Selbys. With regard to the claim of Rachel Medcraft, who claimed to be descended from the testator on the part of his father, orator alleged that she was not entitled, as her mother was an illegitimate child; Oliver Thorne asserted that he was descended from . . . Selby, who he alleged was his great-grandfather and elder brother of James Selby, the grandfather of the testator, but the orator contended that the great grandfather of the said Oliver Thorne was not the brother of the said James Selby, the grandfather of the testator, and that Oliver Thorne was descended from another family. Elizabeth King, it was stated, declined to discover her pedigree, but had brought ejectments to recover the testator's estates.

I recently came across the pedigree in a case brought by a Pembrokeshire claimant to recover the property. The suit in question was between Thomas Davies and his wife Elizabeth, the daughter of Thomas Julien of Aberporth, and a descendant of the Lloyds of Trevigin. The suit was brought about 1808. It will be seen by the annexed chart (No. 2), that this claim was based on the ground that Thomas Selby, the alleged father of James Selby of Wavendon, the grandfather of Thomas James Selby, the testator, married a sister of James Lloyd of Trevigin, an ancestor of Elizabeth Julien, and that James Lloyd became entitled to the property as heir of his sister, the wife of Thomas Selby, on failure of heirs on his side. This, no doubt, is the case referred to by Lipscombe, which he says lasted several years, decisions being sometimes given in favour of Davies, and sometimes Lowndes. Now it is interesting to note that the James

Lloyd in question was a member of the Cwmgloyne family. His wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Hayward or Howard, of Rudbaxton, and his father was Alban Lloyd, who married Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir John Perrott of Haroldston, and was the brother of Evan Lloyd of Cwmgloyne.

The first action by Davies was heard in the Court of Common Pleas on 27th April 1835, and the claim was based on Mrs. Davies being the heir-at-law to the paternal grandmother of the testator. The defence¹ was (1) that the words of the will were words of special limitation; (2) that a fine which had previously been levied with proclamations by Mr. Lowndes, rendered his title perfect, and was a bar to all the rest of the world; (3) that the plaintiff's right, if any, had been barred by an adverse possession of upwards of sixty years; (4) that Mrs. Davies, even if she proved her pedigree, was not the heir-at-law of Thomas James Selby, because the next blood of the paternal great-grandmother would inherit before that of the paternal grandmother. The report in *The Times* throws no great light on the evidence tendered, but it seems that the judge summed up dead against the plaintiffs, and expressed the view that Mr. Lowndes's father was rightly in possession of the property when he levied the fine, and the jury found a general verdict for the defendant. A Bill of Exceptions against the verdict was tendered and allowed. On the 11th May 1838 the appeal was heard, and in giving judgment Baron Parke said that the construction of the Court below, that "the right and lawful heir" meant the right heir of the testator being also of the blood of the Selbys, was not warranted, and that the Court's duty was to interpret the meaning of the testator, and not to add to the conditions; that it had im-

¹ *The Times.*

posed an additional term, not expressed by the testator, and that the direction of the Lord Chief Justice that the Assize should find for the tenant on the above point as well as on the bar of the fine was wrong. The Court therefore awarded a "venire de novo".

The new trial, which was again by Writ of Right, was opened in November following. On the second of that month four knights assembled to select the recognitors, and after Serjeant Talfourd, who appeared for the demandant—Thomas Davies, the husband, had died since the previous hearing—had raised the point as to the propriety of two knights, who sat on the former trial, being allowed to serve again, the knights were sworn in the usual form, "they having first girded their loins with swords, handed to them for that purpose by the ushers. Having retired for some time, they returned with a list of recognitors they had chosen, and the Court named the 28th November for the trial. The knights then unbuckled their swords, returned them to the ushers, and withdrew."

On this occasion no effort was spared on either side to win the battle. An attempt was made by the plaintiff to change the venue to London, but this was unsuccessful. An application was also made by the plaintiff to have the evidence of Margaret Devonald of Pennybank, a woman of eighty years of age, taken by commission as she was too infirm to travel the two hundred and seventy miles to Westminster, and this was only granted on a medical certificate. On the 28th November the hearing of the trial commenced, and the names of the "Grand Assize", consisting of four knights of the shire and twelve recognitors, were called. Jurors in those days had much the same opinions in regard to remuneration as at the present time. One of the knights enquired if the

expenses were not to be defrayed, as they had to come from Buckinghamshire. Lord Chief Justice Tindal replied that he was afraid that there was no provision for this, and mentioned—presumably as consolation to the enquirer—that this was the last trial of the kind that could take place, the procedure having been abolished by Act of Parliament. The Attorney-General, who appeared in this as in the former case for Mr. Lowndes, then tendered the “demi-mark”, and the onus of proving the affirmative of the question lying on his client, proceeded to state his case.

From the reports of the Bill of Exceptions and of the present hearing we get the following details in regard to the prolonged litigation. It appears that soon after the death of the testator, Mrs. Elizabeth Hone, the executrix of the will brought a suit in Chancery to establish the will, and, in July 1773, William Lowndes was appointed receiver of the estate. The following October he filed a bill to establish his claim to the property, and in 1783 the Court decreed that he was entitled to it, and he accordingly took possession in April of that year. The last event was celebrated at Whaddon and Nash by rejoicings, “fiddling and dancing round a Maypole”. In 1784, a fine was levied on the property by him in the name of William Selby. The case for the defendant was much the same as in the former trial, but on this occasion the pedigrees of the testator and of the plaintiff appear to have received more attention. The object of the claimant was, of course, to prove the connection of Thomas Selby of Nevern, who married Mary Lloyd, with the Buckinghamshire Selbys. The Attorney-General, in opening his case, said that the main feature of the plaintiff’s case was the supposed will of James Lloyd, an attorney at Trevigin in Pembrokeshire, but he would prove that James Selby was the son of

Isabella Selby, who died in 1644, and that administration of her effects was granted to her son, James Selby, the grandfather of Thomas James Selby. This was a new development, the defendant having apparently only discovered this document since the first hearing, although curiously enough it was mentioned in *Selbyana*, which was published ten years previously. In fact, on this occasion, he adopted the theory of descent formulated by the author of that work, as the certificate of the burial of Richard Selby on 22 Sept. 1634, was one of the documents produced. Among these records were the following, which are interesting to the genealogist :—

Settlement on marriage of James Selby, the testator's grandfather, with Margaret Wells, which took place on 11th December 1655.

Settlement on marriage of Serjeant James Selby, with Mary daughter of Sir Rowland Alston, which was solemnised 21st April 1715.

Proof of the admission of the following to the Inner Temple :—James Selby of Salford, Beds, 1st July 1647 ; James Selby, son of James Selby of the Inner Temple, 15th Feb. 1676 ; Thomas James Selby, Esq., son and heir of James Selby, late Serjeant-at-law, deceased, 26th April 1744.

The Rector of Salford produced the following entries in the register of burials for his parish :—

Richard Selby, 22nd Sept. 1634 ; William Selby, 10th Feb. 1635 ; Isabella Selby, 10th Feb. 1644.

A deed was shown, dated 11th Jan. 1664, bearing the signature of James Selby, the grandfather of the testator ; and evidence was produced that Mrs. Olebar, the daughter of Temperance Bedford, who had died since the previous trial, had proved the existence of a descendant of a nearer maternal branch than that through which the plaintiff claimed.

The estate, the Attorney-General said, was worth between £4,000 and £5,000 per annum, and had been in the posses-

sion of the Lowndes family for sixty years. The claim was brought only within a few hours of the expiration of the sixty years, which terminated on the 6th Dec. 1832, having been made on the previous day. He also laid stress on the fact that, although Erasmus Lloyd was alleged to be entitled to the property he made no attempt to secure it, neither did any of his descendants until Mrs. Davies brought the action in 1832.

We now come to the plaintiff's side of the question. Briefly her case was as follows :—James Selby, the husband of Margaret Wells, was the son of Thomas Selby of Nevern, and Mary Lloyd, the sister of James Lloyd of Trevigin, and this James and Mary Lloyd were the children of Alban (*The Times* report through a misprint says “Adam”) Lloyd, from whom Mrs. Davies, the plaintiff, and Thomas James Selby, the testator, were both lineally descended. James Lloyd had three sons, Evan, John, and George. John died a bachelor, and¹ Evan had an only son William, who died a bachelor. George had several sons, of whom Erasmus was the eldest. Erasmus Lloyd was eighty years of age at the date of the testator's death, and died two years afterwards. Erasmus left a son John, who married and had three daughters, Catherine, Frances and Mary, all of whom died in 1795, and the daughter of Catherine, the eldest of the three, was Mrs. Davis, the claimant. In support of the plaintiff's pedigree the following documents were produced :—(1) The registers of St. Dogmaels, showing the marriage of George Lloyd to Sudna Rowlands in January 1690, and the baptism of their son, Erasmus, in December 1691. (2) A transcript of the register of Denio, Carnarvonshire, showing the marriage of Erasmus Lloyd to

¹ The report in *The Times* of 30 Nov. 1838 appears to be inaccurate as to this genealogy. The above is taken from a pedigree filed in the case.

Catherine Jones on 24th April 1715, and the baptism of their children, John and Sudna.

In rebuttal of the defendant's allegation that Isabella Selby's son, James, was the grandfather of the testator, Serjeant Talfourd produced the will (in the custody of the Registrar of Oxford) of John Chilton of Berkshire, dated 12th May 1658, and proved 22nd Jan. 1668. This showed that John Chilton had a sister, Isabella Selby, who had a son James, at that date a schoolmaster at Reading, in Berkshire. This he contended was convincing evidence that the son of Isabella could not have been the testator's grandfather, who was at that time living at Salford. The Serjeant then proceeded to prove his client's pedigree. One document was a Welsh pedigree. It was produced by Morrice Williams, of Cwmgloyne, Pembrokeshire, whose grandmother was a Miss Lloyd of that place. He acquired that property about fifty years previously by devise from his kinsman, Thomas Lloyd, a member of the Lloyd family in question. He stated that on taking possession of the estate he found the pedigree in a drawer in a locked room in the mansion with other papers relating to the family property. On the back of the document was the following endorsement, which Mr. Williams proved to be in the handwriting of Thomas Lloyd :—

“ This is the pedigree of my family, Thomas Lloyd.”

At the foot was the following certificate :—

“ Collected from parish registers, wills, monumental inscriptions, family records and history. This account is now presented as correct, and as confirming the tradition handed down from one generation to another to Thomas Lloyd of Cwmgloyne this 4th July 1733, by his loving kinsman and sincere friend and very devoted servant, William Lloyd.”

This document was held to be inadmissible, though the custody from which it came was not deemed objec-

tionable, and the parties whose relationship it was sought to establish by it were known to the compiler. But although the pedigree was not admitted as evidence, it would be extremely interesting to know whether it is still in existence.

We next come to the proof of the connection of Thomas Selby of Nevern with the testator's ancestors. The first document was the will of Judith Odell, dated the 3rd June 1643, and proved the 13th Nov. 1643. It was produced by the Registrar of Bedford, and contained the following bequests:—

As for my temporal estate, I dispose of it in this manner. Item I give and bequeath to my dear cousins, Henry Lloyd of Soulberry, in the county of Bucks, clerk, and James Selby of Monnington, in the county of Pembroke, gentleman, all my live and dead stock, household furniture, plate, money and other effects, the same to be divided between them in equal parts, and as for my leasehold estate now in my occupation, I give the same to my dear cousins for their joint lives; and my will is that the longest liver shall take the whole.

The two cousins above-named were appointed executors.

The next document was produced by the Deputy Keeper of the Records at the Probate Court at Canterbury. It was the will of Henry Lloyd of Soulberry, Buckinghamshire, clerk, dated 11th April 1646, and proved 2nd May in that year. It contained a statement that the testator, when lately in Wales, had left money, chattels and other effects in the hands of friends there, and instructions to his executors to distribute them amongst certain persons as directed by the testator by a writing under his hand and seal, which writing was deposited by him in the hands of his sister, Ellen Ellis.

The most important document (see facsimile of will) was produced by Mr. Valentine Davis, the then Deputy Registrar of the Probate Court of St. Davids. This was



I do hereby give and bequeath unto my
 dear wife & her heirs & assigns forever
 all that messuage & tenement situate
 in the parish of St. Martin in the City of
 London together with the garden & out-
 house thereunto in severalty & sole
 possession unto my wife & her heirs & assigns
 forever to have and enjoy the same
 with all rights & appurtenances thereto
 in anywise lawfully coming & to be
 to them & their heirs & assigns forever
 in full satisfaction of the debt of
 the said James Lloyd to the said
 John Lloyd & his heirs & assigns
 in the sum of five hundred pounds
 lawfully due unto them & their heirs & assigns
 by the said James Lloyd at the death of
 the said John Lloyd & his heirs & assigns
 in full satisfaction of the debt of
 the said James Lloyd to the said
 John Lloyd & his heirs & assigns
 in the sum of five hundred pounds
 lawfully due unto them & their heirs & assigns
 by the said James Lloyd at the death of
 the said John Lloyd & his heirs & assigns

Witness my hand
 the said James Lloyd
 William Lloyd
 Thomas Lloyd

James Lloyd

I do hereby give and bequeath unto
 Griffith Dwyer in the
 Methodist Church of the
 said James Lloyd & his heirs & assigns

Griffith Dwyer
 Griffith Dwyer
 Griffith Dwyer

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Griffith

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Griffith



the will of James Lloyd of Monington, in Pembrokeshire, who died in 1669. It was dated the 19th Sept. 1669, and contained the following bequest:—

To James Selby of Wavendon, in the county of Buckingham, the son and only issue of Thomas Selby of Neverne, in this countie, by my sister Mary, his deceased wife, the sum of fortie pounds of current English money.

The testator's messuage and lands in St. Dogmaels were devised to his son and heir, Evan, charged with payment to his two brothers, John and George, of eight score pounds, being four score pounds a year to each. To the testator's wife during her widowhood he gave half his messuages, etc., in Monington, and all his personal estate to his son Evan, whom he appointed executor. The inventory of his chattels annexed amounted to £39. The will was properly indexed, "*Testamentum Jacobi Lloyd de Monington, 1669*". Harris, a clerk to one Morgan, Thomas Jones's successor, proved that he found this will in a bag in the Consistory Court of Carmarthen, and the Rev. T. Griffith, who in right of his wife had preferred a claim to the estate which had been abandoned, stated that some years before he had found the name of James Lloyd of Monington in the index, and that the will was produced to him in the presence of two clerks in the office.

A deed of¹ release, dated 11th Oct. 1620, from Evan ap Rees to Alban Lloyd of Freystrop, and a bond, dated 11th Dec. 1629, in which Evan ap Rees was obligor, and Alban Lloyd obligee, were produced to show that Alban Lloyd was the purchaser of the Trevigin estate, and that it

¹ There is an old deed in the possession of Mr. J. H. Davies of Cwrtmawr, Cardiganshire, dated 12 March 1613, by which Elizabeth, the daughter of . . . Phillips, a widow living in the parish of Llantood, conveyed the farm of Trevigin to Alban Lloyd of Freestroppe, gent.—F. G.

descended in succession from James to Evan and to William Lloyd. Proof was also brought of the burial of James Selby (the grandfather of the testator) at Wavendon on 27th Oct. 1688.

Mr. Mussett, the Deputy Record Keeper of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury for twenty-five years, being called to speak as to the genuineness of the will of James Lloyd, stated that he had no reason to doubt that the will was genuine, and Mr. Courthorpe, a translator of old records with considerable experience, testified that to the best of his belief the document was genuine.

Mr. Valentine Davis also produced the will of William Lloyd of Trevigin, dated 4th Feb. 1734, which contained a bequest to the testator's cousin, Evan Lloyd (who married Anne Bowen), and a codicil in which it was stated that the Trevigin estate had in 1721 been settled on John, the third son of George Lloyd of St. Dogmaels, the son of James Lloyd.

On the other hand, the defendant called Mr. Holmes, the Keeper of MSS. in the British Museum, and Messrs. Hardy—one of whom was chief clerk in the Record Office, and the other brother Assistant Record Keeper in the office of the Duchy of Lancaster—who unhesitatingly pronounced the will of James Lloyd not to be genuine, on account of the general character of the writing, its stiffness, and the total omission of marks of abbreviation. The inventory they admitted to be genuine. One of the Hardys suggested that the writer had the genuine will before him to copy from and succeeded in imitating it with tolerable accuracy, with the exception of the clause containing the bequest to James Selby, when, having no copy before him, he relapsed into his usual style. He also asserted that the paper on which the will was written and that containing the inventory—each a half sheet of fools-

cap—never had formed one sheet, assigning as a reason for this opinion the absence of a water-mark.

As rebutting evidence, several wills of the same date and from the same custody as the will in question were produced and shown to the witnesses, in which most of the alleged defects pointed out by them as evidences of forgery were found to exist. The paper also on which some of these wills were written had no water mark. This concluded the evidence, and after an absence of about an hour the Grand Assize brought in a verdict that the plaintiff had not made out her pedigree; that the defendant was in possession of the estate before levying the fine in 1784, and that he had taken, and was then known by, the name of Selby; in other words, it was a general verdict for the defendant.

In 1870 the different claimants in Wales were circularised with a view of once more taking action to recover the estate, and it was arranged that if they would agree to certain conditions a thorough investigation would be made into the whole case. Presumably the inaugurator of this movement was a Bristol man, named O. Parry. At all events a pamphlet¹ by him was published in English and Welsh in the following year, recording the results of his investigations. What the conditions were is not revealed, but Parry was as good as his word, and a case was drawn up and submitted to Mr. C. Chapman Barber, a Chancery Barrister, and to Mr. G. Osborne Morgan, Q.C. The case submitted was in great part a summary of what has gone before, but it also contained some additional information. It appears from the pamphlet that a Mr. Selby, who was alleged to be a cousin of the testator, Thomas James Selby, took proceedings for the recovery of the property in

¹ A copy of this pamphlet is in the possession of Mr. J. H. Davies, of Cwrtmawr, Cardiganshire.

1791, but abandoned them in 1795, because his attorney suddenly left for America. Proceedings were also taken by William Lloyd of Trevigin, an "ancestor of the present claimant", but he died before he proceeded far. In 1832 a Mrs. Frances Twining, *alias* Lloyd, took some legal steps, but these were abandoned. The most interesting feature, however, is found in the following extract from the case for counsel's opinion, which is given in the pamphlet:—

Elizabeth Davies, the demandant, who undoubtedly was one of the nearest of kin, was an illiterate person, and unable to speak the English language, so that she became the easy dupe of one John Bowen, a notorious adventurer in the town of Cardigan. In relation to the estates of Whaddon Hall, he was found¹ guilty at the Cardigan Assizes, in July 1838, of obtaining money from some people in Wales, pretending that they had a claim on the estates. He was tried, too, at Gloucester, on a charge of tampering with parish registers, and was sentenced to² seven years' transportation. While undergoing his sentence on board the hulks at Woolwich, he was there visited by Mr. Lowndes, and on his intercession was released before the expiration of his seven years' term of imprisonment. Bowen acted under powers of Attorney given to him by E. Davies, and there is no doubt that there was a secret arrangement for a compromise between Bowen and Lowndes, whereby the former was to be paid an annuity for his life, and to receive on behalf of the claimant the sum of £150,000, payable by instalments, extending over several years. It is believed that no portion of the latter sum has ever been paid, as Bowen died soon after the compromise was effected, and Elizabeth Davies also died in the same year as Bowen. After her death, namely, in the year 1855, Owen Davies, her son, filed a Bill in Chancery against William Selby Lowndes and John Richards, as the attorney of the deceased

¹ The files of the *Carmarthen Journal* and *Welshman* of that date make no mention of this case at the assizes at Cardigan.—F. G.

² The registers in question were those of the parish of Croome d'Abitot, Worcestershire. (*See* Carrington and Kirwaun's *Reports*, vol. i, p. 501.)—F. G.

Bowen, with a view of enforcing the stipulation of the said alleged compromise. . . . Mr. John Richards, the attorney referred to, has been dead some two or three years, but his executor, Mr. Bleaymire, solicitor, Penrith, writes that he has in his possession some papers relating to the business.

It will suffice here to say that the opinion of both barristers was dead against the claimants. Further enquiry made of Mr. Bleaymire elicited that he had no papers relating to the alleged compromise, and Parry winds up his pamphlet by advising the claimants to abandon all idea of further proceedings, and expressed the opinion that Mr. Lowndes would not have entered into a secret compromise with a convicted felon. Parry also states that a Bill was filed in Chancery by a Mr. John Griffiths of Newport, in 1855, which recapitulated many of the statements contained in the above-mentioned case laid before counsel. This Bill, however, he adds, was not proceeded with. I have been unable to find any note of it among the entries in the Record Office.

The last claim on record¹ was an appeal in 1900 made by a person named Jenkins. This claim was based on an assignment dated 17th April 1897, by which a certain John Moore, the heir-at-law of one Thomas Selby, had assigned all his interest in the property to the plaintiff. The plaintiff's case was that Thomas Selby was the heir-at-law of Thomas James Selby, but that, owing to frauds perpetrated by interested parties, and to concealment of documentary evidence, he was unable to prove his title. It was stated that Thomas Selby married one Anne as his second wife, and by her had one child, Walter, through whom the plaintiff claimed. It was alleged that material entries of births, marriages, and deaths, including the entry in the parish

¹ *The Standard*, 14th June 1900.

register of this marriage, had been fraudulently removed, and that the concealment and frauds perpetrated between 1772 and 1784 rendered it impossible to prove by the then claimant that in 1772 James Selby had gone with his brother from Nevern in Pembrokeshire to Wavendon, and no one could then find out his family, nor to whom he belonged. An advertisement accordingly was inserted in the *St. James's Chronicle*, and a copy of the advertisement then being shewn to Thomas Selby, the testator's heir, he was given a document relating to the estates—a certain old Latin deed, written on a skin of parchment or vellum, duly executed by James Selby, senior, and his wife, with the intent and purpose of securing the inheritance of the estate to the heirs of their bodies, and, in case of failure of lawful issue, then to the heirs of James Selby, senior, as represented by his half-brother, Walter Selby, son of Thomas Selby of Nevern, by Anne, his second wife. The deed was kept in the family until after the testator died, when Thomas Selby, being a farmer, and not understanding the Latin document, took it to Sir Watkin Lewes, a barrister, then at Cardigan, who advised him that by the deed he could prove his title to the estates. The deed was said to have been fraudulently obtained from Sir Watkin, in 1776, by William Lowndes, and after several attempts to get it back, a suit to recover it was filed in the Court of Exchequer, but eventually the proceedings were abandoned. It was argued on behalf of the defendant that Mr. Lowndes had an absolute answer to the claim under the Statute of Limitations, and that, even assuming that there had been fraud, the statement of claim showed clearly that the action was statute-barred. Lord Justice Smith, in giving judgment, said that if ever there was a case in which the defendant was entitled to rely on the Statute of Limitations this was one.

After the defendant's family had been in possession of the estates for one hundred and sixteen years the plaintiff set up what was called concealed fraud. The plaintiff set out in his pleadings that in 1776 Thomas Selby, who was his predecessor in title, knew of the deed which set out his title to the estates, but that the deed had been handed by Thomas Selby to his counsel, Sir Watkin Lewes, who kept it in his possession; that Thomas Selby brought an action against Sir Watkin Lewes to recover possession of the deed, and that he did not succeed through the reluctance of counsel to proceed against Sir Watkin Lewes. He (the Lord Justice) was unable to believe that statement. In his opinion plaintiff's predecessors could have obtained possession of the deed in question at the time, and have proved their title to the estates had they been able. Therefore he held that the Statute of Limitations was a complete answer to the action.

Such was the end of the trial, and it will now be interesting to review the evidence adduced by the different claimants. It will be observed that with the exception of Elizabeth Davies all the Pembrokeshire claimants, including the last, based their cases on the alleged old Latin settlement. That there was such a document can scarcely be doubted, but whether it would have been a valuable factor in the case is another question; indeed, if Duffield's account be true, Sir Watkin Lewes, in his answer, admitted the existence of a deed, but denied that he ever pretended that he could recover the estate for any of the parties by virtue of it. Against this we have the affidavits of Jane Richards, corroborated by that of Thomas Williams, that Sir Watkin stated that he could by means of the deed put her in possession of the estate, and Williams makes the further significant assertion that Sir Watkin warned Jane Richards not to enter into any

agreement with any person concerning the estate. Three persons testify to the fact that Sir Watkin admitted that the deed contained the name of Margaret Wells, and that it belonged to the Selbys, and, allowing for Celtic imagination and embroidery, it is difficult to come to any other conclusion than that the deed related in some way to the Selby family in Buckinghamshire, and that Sir Watkin's assertions in the answer were of an evasive character; indeed, his statement that the words in the deed were so much obscured by abbreviations and other peculiarities that it was impossible for him to decipher the same, or to understand the effect and meaning of the deed, sounds remarkably shallow to be made by a lawyer at a time when titles were not on a twelve years' basis, and when in the course of investigations into titles, Latin deeds must have been frequently met. Even if he was unable to read the deed, he might easily have placed the document in the hands of an expert. Yet, so far as can be gathered from Duffield's account, he made no attempt to obtain outside assistance.

Curiosity will naturally arise as to how the existence of the deed was discovered. According to Duffield, the deed was found as a result of information given by Henry Pugh, who, it will be remembered, was said to have been in Buckinghamshire. This was the person whom Sir Watkin reprimanded for having imposed on the credulity of so many ignorant persons, because Pugh's answers to Sir Watkin did not tally as to dates and other facts with previous accounts said to have been made by him. This, as Duffield points out, is scarcely surprising, as Pugh was then over one hundred years old, and his faculties were much impaired.

There is one fact which will appeal to genealogists, and this is that the name of Selby in the latter part of the

seventeenth century seems to have been somewhat uncommon in Pembrokeshire. In the list of those liable for the Hearth Tax in that county, in 1670—a list which includes the householders and paupers—I have been able to find only two of the name—"Thomas Shelby," who was assessed for one hearth in Nevern parish, and "Edward Shelby," a pauper in Llawhaden parish. The former was no doubt the Thomas Selby who, according to the pedigree in the case of *Davies v. Lowndes*, came as a stranger to Nevern, married Mary Lloyd, and died in 1684. The date of his arrival in Pembrokeshire, assuming the story to be true, cannot be ascertained, but it is evident that he was in Nevern in 1661, as in the voluntary subscription to Charles II, levied in that year, the name of "Thomas Selvey" appears as a donor of one shilling, the smallest amount given by any resident in the parish.

In confirmation of the alleged connection between the Pembrokeshire and Buckinghamshire Selbys, we have the mysterious Latin deed found among the papers of the grandson of Thomas Selby's brother-in-law, in North Pembrokeshire—a document which, if the witnesses can be believed, contained the names of the Selbys and Margaret Wells. In addition, Duffield states that when in Wales in 1777, a certain Lewis James informed him that for some time previously he had in his custody a letter signed by Thomas Selby, which he believed was a letter sent by James Selby of Wavendon to his father, Thomas Selby of Nevern, but that he could not recollect its date or its contents, and that he delivered the letter to Mr. Lloyd, an attorney in Carmarthen. Duffield adds that "on mentioning this to a certain noble lord, his lordship declared that the said Lewis James had told him exactly the same thing."

So far as can be judged from Duffield's pamphlet, neither the author nor the claimants at that time had any very clear idea as to the connection between the Selbys of Nevern and those of Buckinghamshire. One of the allegations made was that Thomas James Selby had been staying at Trevigin and afterwards went to Buckinghamshire, but there is no proof that he ever was in Wales. Legal evidence up to this date was conspicuous by its absence, but when we get to the last hearing of the action brought by Mrs. Davies something more tangible is brought forward. In the first place we get proof, in the shape of Judith Odell's will, that there was a James Selby of Monington, whose existence was previously more or less nebulous, and that he was related to the Rev. Henry Lloyd of Soulberry. This is very suggestive in view of the fact that Thomas Selby is said to have married Mary Lloyd, and one wonders whether further search was made to ascertain if there were any relationship between Henry Lloyd and James Lloyd, the brother-in-law of Thomas Selby of Nevern. Were this proved to be the case, or if it could be shown that this James Selby was the son of Thomas Selby of Nevern, a long step would be made towards connecting the Pembrokeshire Selbys with Buckinghamshire. It would be quite natural to suppose that Henry Lloyd obtained a living in that county, and that through his influence his relative James Selby settled in that neighbourhood. It will be seen that James Selby of Wavendon was admitted into the Inner Temple in 1647, and assuming that the two James Selbys are identical, it is possible that George Lloyd's bequest, which came into force in 1643, may have enabled him to enter the Temple. The will of Henry Lloyd shows that his connection with Wales was continued till close on his death, in 1646, and the statement contained in it that he

had left certain effects there in the hands of friends recalls the story of the old Latin deed.

We now come to the will of James Lloyd of Monington, which, if genuine, would be conclusive proof of the connection. Here we have the usual difference of opinion between experts. It is impossible to form an opinion on the evidence published in a report, but one cannot help feeling that some of the grounds on which the experts appear to have based their belief as to the unreliability of the will are rather weak. The suggestion was that the real will had been abstracted, and a facsimile made, with the addition of a clause containing the bequest to James Selby of Wavendon. Generally speaking the experts gave as their reason for believing that the will was not genuine the character of the writing and the omission of marks of abbreviation. This, presumably, applied to the whole of the document—though this is not clear from the report—yet one of these experts suggested that the alleged copyist had succeeded in imitating the writing in the will with tolerable accuracy with the exception of the clause in question, when he relapsed into his usual style. This expert also made a great point of the fact that the half sheets on which the inventory and the will were written never formed one sheet, the foundation for this view being the absence of a watermark. This inventory was, of course, the valuation of the deceased's effects for probate purposes, and my researches in the Carmarthen Probate Court convince me that such documents are frequently written on different paper to the will. The value of the opinion of the experts on this point, however, is indicated by the fact that other wills of the same date, from the same Registry, and produced at the trial, contained most of the alleged defects which the experts for the defendants considered as evidence of

forgery, and the paper on which some of these wills were written also had no water-mark.

Curiously enough the experts appear to have overlooked a much more striking feature in the will, which covers two sides of a sheet of foolscap, and that is the wording of the bequest to James Selby. A reference to the illustrations, which are from photographs of the original document, will show that the bequest reads: "the sum of fortie pounds of current English money," while the other two bequests of money read "eight score pounds being four score pounds a year to each". Now one would expect that the same verbiage would have been used throughout, that is to say, that the first bequest would have read, "two score pounds" instead of "fortie pounds." Then the coinage is specifically mentioned in the one case and omitted in the other. At the same time too much stress cannot be laid on these discrepancies, as they are by no means uncommon in wills and even in other documents. Another feature to which exception might be taken is that the writing of the bequest to James Selby is slightly larger, and the words not so closely written as the rest of the document; but on the other hand it must be remembered that it is by no means exceptional when engrossing a will to leave a space for the insertion of a bequest as to which the testator has not made up his mind, or possibly has not at the time the necessary description of the legatee. So long as the blank was filled in before the document was executed it would not invalidate the will.

Assuming, however, that the will was a forgery—although a decision on this point seems to have been evaded at the trial—let us consider how it could have been done. Lax as the supervision may have been in those days, only two feasible methods appear to have been open. Either a clerk in the Registry must have been induced to

do the deed, or else the true will must have been abstracted, and a copy, with the additional clause, substituted. In the first case the inducement must have been very strong, and in view of the financial position of the plaintiff it is difficult to see how a substantial *douceur* could have been forthcoming, and it is scarcely credible that a clerk would have risked a good position on the chance of a bonus if the claim to the property succeeded. The other alternative must have been still more difficult to carry out; in fact, the obstacles in the way must have been insuperable without the connivance of one of the officials, and this, as I have pointed out, is, under the circumstances, incredible.

Reviews, and Short Notices.

CELTIC RELIGION IN CHRISTIAN TIMES, by Edward Anwyl, M.A. London: Archibald Constable and Co., Ltd., 1906.

THE problems which confront the student of Celtic religion differ from those involved in the consideration of Vedic, Hellenic and Teutonic religion. In the latter cases there is substantial agreement amongst investigators respecting the nature and validity of the evidence itself, though opinions vary concerning the inferences that may legitimately be drawn therefrom. Moreover in these three cases the body of evidence upon which one's conception of the religious system in question must be based, is substantially homogeneous. True, among the Teutons our knowledge of one side of the religion—the highly organised mythology of the North—is drawn from a stratum of facts differing chronologically, geographically, and in cultural development from our other sources of information. But even here the chasm is by no means as wide and as deep as that which separates the two extant bodies of evidence for Celtic belief and practice: the meagre and fragmentary indications of Greek and Roman writers supported by the sparse remains of monumental art and the scattered testimony of inscriptions, in the first place; in the second, Irish and Welsh myth, saga, and legend, supported by the living folk-lore of the Celtic speaking people.

Methodologically, the investigator's first task is to define the relation between those two bodies of evidence. But this cannot be done until the nature of the second

has been ascertained and its development traced. At present no one hypothesis commands general acceptance among scholars, nay, there is uncertainty respecting the very conditions of the problems to be solved. Is or is not certain literature preserved by the Irish Gaels a survival from pre-Christian times, and, if so, in how far does it faithfully mirror the beliefs and practices of pre-Christianity, or has it been affected by the consciousness of the Christian-Classic culture in which it is found embedded? In what relation does the apparently mythic portion of this literature stand to the obviously heroic? Does community of themes, incidents and *dramatis personæ* in the romantic literature of Irish and Welsh imply original pan-Celtic unity, or is it the result of relations which obtained between the Celtic peoples in historical times, and therefore unsusceptible of being used as evidence respecting pre-historic Celtic conditions?

Such are some of the questions an answer to which must precede any general survey of Celtic religion. No answer in our present state of knowledge can pretend to finality, because the preliminary task of sifting the sources and placing them in their historical and cultural scheme of development has not been accomplished, indeed is only beginning to be essayed. Thus the expert can provide no such harmonious and orderly exposition of definitely ascertained knowledge as shall be accessible and attractive to the non-expert. For some time to come his task is far other. He must forward the criticism of sources and, by framing hypotheses the fragility of which must always be present to his mind, essay to bring facts into relation with each other, and thereby contribute to the true elucidation of their import and significance. He cannot *popularise* in the ordinary sense of the word, supply, that is, the layman with the assured results of

research and relieve him from the necessity of reaching them by personal effort; he can only describe the facts as accurately as possible, and set forth clearly the implications contained in any view of their mutual relations; he must thus insist upon modes and details of investigation which the populariser in other branches of study can neglect.

The adequate fulfilment of such a task as is sketched above would be of the utmost service to the cause of Celtic studies, and when I saw the announcement of Professor Anwyl's volume my hopes ran high. He has so many of the requisite qualifications—thorough training in the methods of historical and philological criticism; first-hand familiarity with one set of sources, the Welsh; adequate knowledge of the Irish and classical sources; lastly, an acute and critically constructive intelligence, as evidenced in his study of the *Four Branches*. Great, then, was my disappointment at finding that he had restricted himself to the easiest and least fruitful of the two bodies of evidence for Celtic religion—the Classical sources. For not only is he one of the very small number of scholars able to deal adequately with the Post-Classic evidence; not only has criticism extracted well-nigh all it can from the Classical sources; by his present procedure he countenances what I believe to be an essentially wrong method of study. Classical evidence alone can yield us no satisfactory image of Celtic religion; it needs must be interpreted in the light of the later sources. To make it the starting-point is to handicap, possibly to misdirect, investigation from the outset. Our real need is exhaustive collection and thorough criticism of the Post-Classical evidence; when that is done, but only then, can we fix the scanty remnants of the Classical mosaic into their place. Critical scholarship must work backwards from that which we can

know, instead of working forward from what must be always more or less the subject of surmise only.

Professor Anwyl's accomplishment of his task is in the main excellent. His exposition is based upon a wide survey of the factors involved, is marked by independence, judgment, and acute reasoning, and is presented with grace and, as a rule, with lucidity. But he is, in my opinion, handicapped by the wrong method of dealing with the subject which he has chosen. The insufficiency of the Classical evidence alone has led him to appeal largely to the science of pre-historic archaeology. I venture to think that for many years to come the assertions of this science can only be accepted when they are rendered probable by the precedent analysis of historic facts. In the present case Professor Anwyl urges that "many of the characteristic features of Celtic religion have been evolved during the Stone age". This is extremely likely. But he further argues, if I understand him rightly, that these features were taken over by the Celts from the peoples they subjugated. His words are: "Their [the Celts] quota of contributions to the conceptions of life and of the world appears to be small compared with that of their predecessors" (p. 5). This is pure hypothesis, for which no evidence can be adduced, and which seems to involve the assumption that the Celts themselves had not passed through a Stone age culture, and therefore such traces of that culture as survive in their religion must be loans. I believe that the majority of philologists are sceptical concerning the traces of pre-Aryan influences which Principal Rhys and Professor J. Morris Jones detect in Celtic speech. As a student of mythology, I make bold to affirm that we have at present no criterion for discriminating Aryan and pre-Aryan elements in the religion of the various Aryan peoples. It is little enough we can

ever know about the early Aryan, but we do possess a body of facts the analysis of which is capable of revealing something assured; concerning the pre-Aryan, we shall in all likelihood never be able to do more than to put forth more or less plausible conjectures.

Professor Anwyl argues (p. 23) that because we find in the Celtic speech area "names of groups of goddesses such as the Matres", and because they (the Celts) had "in historic times advanced well beyond this stage to that of named and individualised gods", therefore "in the Neolithic stage" the inhabitants of Celtic countries had attained to certain religious ideas (of the animation of the world by invisible spirits). This would seem to imply continuity of population and development from the Neolithic period onward throughout the special area in question, an implication which stands in direct contradiction with the theory, previously urged, of the subjugation of the Neolithic pre-Aryans by the bronze-weaponed Celts.

Whilst Professor Anwyl gives a good deal of space to speculation about the pre-Celts, he has not examined as thoroughly as I should have expected what the Classical writers have to say about the Celts. He notes the prominence of "war in Celtic tribal life", and the fact "that the large number of names identified with Mars reflects the prominent place at one time given to war in the ideas that affected the growth of the religion of the Celtic tribes", but he does not refer to the puzzling statement of Cæsar, "*Deum Mercurium maxime colunt*," which is borne out neither by the epigraphic evidence (nineteen Celtic avatars of Mercury as against fifty-nine of Mars), nor by anything in the Post-Classical literature of the Celts. He also notes that "in historic times at any rate Jupiter did not play a large part in Celtic religious ideas". Here we have examples of the danger of relying solely on Classical evidence; in

the case of Mercury this is inconsistent, in the case of Jupiter it is in contradiction with inferences that may legitimately be drawn from Irish and Welsh mythic literature, as Mr. A. B. Cook has so well shown in his admirable articles on the European Sky-God (*Folk-Lore*, 1906, Nos. 1, 2).

I do not think that Professor Anwyl has dealt searchingly enough with the question of human sacrifice. If the Classical evidence alone is relied upon, I hold that it cannot be considered apart from certain statements of Cæsar respecting the family and social organisation (especially VI, 19), which in my opinion have never been criticised with sufficient thoroughness. But indeed the Classical and Post-Classical evidence must be taken together. I do not demur to the suggestion that what we know of human sacrifices among the Celts "indicates a combination of the ideas of tree-worship with those of early agricultural life," but as a matter of fact this suggestion is supported rather by the Irish than by the Classical evidence.

What I have said has been chiefly in the way of criticism or demur. I trust Professor Anwyl will believe me when I say that the sincerest compliment I can pay him is to treat even a popular sketch as seriously as if it were a contribution to the Transactions of the British Academy. I want to see Welsh students attack the study of their racial antiquities in a serious and scientific spirit. I believe that to do so they must start from an exhaustive analysis of medieval Welsh and Irish literature. I believe Professor Anwyl to be one of the most competent of living scholars to undertake this work himself, and to train up pupils and fellow-workers. I want him to leave pre-history alone for the present and to concentrate upon history. And in some ten years time, when there exists a Celtic counterpart

to the *Deutsche Mythologie* of Jacob Grimm I want to be able to congratulate a British and not a German author.

ALFRED NUTT.

CARDIGAN PRIORY IN THE OLDEN DAYS, by Emily M. Pritchard (Olwen Powys). London: William Heine-
mann, 1904.

MRS. PRITCHARD was asked to read a paper on Cardigan Priory at the 1904 meeting of the Cambrian Archæological Society in Cardigan. The result of the researches she made for her paper are given in this volume. Any original research into the History of Ecclesiastical Wales is of interest, and not the least is that of the Lords Marcher who were set up as garrisons of the Latin Church in different parts of Wales. Still more interesting it is to hear how any great Marcher Lord, in fits of piety and pride, extended the borders of some of the great English foundations.

But Cardigan is of especial interest, as it has an almost unique history in showing how one great English religious house was able to despoil another. It is on this part of the story that more information is required and further original research needed, not merely the collecting of printed statements of authors who simply copy from each other. St. Peter's of Gloucester certainly held Cardigan in the reign of Henry I. In Henry II's reign the Monks of Chertsey were in possession of it. How did they get it? Mrs. Pritchard says Rhys ap Gruffydd, in 1164, took Cardigan and gave it to the Monks of Chertsey, and for this she cites as an authority a Charter of Henry VI, in which it is said that Rhys ap Gruffydd granted to St. Peter's, Chertsey, the Cell of Cardigan. It is by no means clear that Mrs. Pritchard's transcript or translation of this charter is correct, but,

assuming it is, the important question remains: Why did Rhys ap Gruffydd make a grant to a Norman Benedictine House in England? He is always said to have been much more favourable to the Cistercians than to the Benedictines, and why was Chertsey selected instead of a Welsh House? Any historian of Cardigan Priory should have given some reason for this, the most interesting part of the history of Cardigan Priory, and discussed the matter in detail. The alleged transfer by a Welsh Prince of a Cell of the Abbey of Gloucester to the Abbey of Chertsey gives an unique opportunity for original research. At the time of Archbishop Baldwin, 1185, the transfer was complete, Giraldus speaks of Cardigan as a Cell to Chertsey, and henceforth there is only the usual story of the Cell of a large English House till the Reformation, and after the Reformation the successive steps in the title of the Priory as it passed from one owner to another.

That the subject is far from exhausted is shewn by Mrs. Pritchard's supplementary chapter, in which she gives four documents from the Gloucester Cathedral Library; one a letter by Roger de Clare, which is said to be between 1147 and 1157, to Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury in somewhat peremptory terms, complaining of the deception the monks of Chertsey had practised on him as to the Church of Holy Trinity, Cardigan, which he found belonged to the Abbey of Gloucester, and which he required the Archbishop to let the Gloucester monks have. How, in spite of the Clares, and the Abbey of Gloucester, the Chertsey monks were able to hold their ill-gotten possession, would be a point of much interest to discover, as it may possibly bring on the scene a great historical personage, who so far does not appear to have had much to do with Wales. Chertsey was in the Diocese of Winchester from 1129 to 1171; the See of Winchester was then filled by one of its greatest

Bishops, Henry of Blois, and it may well be that he desired to exalt his own Benedictine Abbey over the proud Benedictine House of another Diocese. Whatever is the reason, if Mrs. Pritchard's work reaches a second edition, it is to be hoped she will work this point out thoroughly. By doing this well she will give the book a definite value in Welsh ecclesiastical history, and as she has raised the point she should follow it up.

J. W. WILLIS-BUND.

THE ITINERARY IN WALES OF JOHN LELAND in or about the years 1536-1539. Extracted from his MSS. Arranged and Edited by Lucy Toulmin Smith. London: George Bell and Sons, 1906.

THERE are few books of more importance to the historical student than the *Itinerary* of the King's Antiquary. Leland was accurate and industrious, sometimes he had to take his information second-hand, and sometimes he made mistakes. Some of the few existing Welsh county histories have extracts from the *Itinerary* relating to those counties, and Sir Richard Colt Hoare designed to publish it for the whole of Wales.

It was reserved for Miss Toulmin Smith to earn our gratitude by carrying out this design, and in this neat scholarly volume she has collected together the Welsh extracts which in the original are a good deal mixed up; some few have even now escaped the eye of the editor. In the Appendix are extracts from the *Collectanea*, and we should have been glad of more. There is a map showing the places named in the *Itinerary*, and a most useful index of places. Leland's list of cantreds and commotes may be compared with that published in volume ix of *Y Cymmrodor*.

Not the least valuable part of the work is the identifi-

cation of the place-names by Dr. Gwenogfryn Evans. Dr. Evans generally knows, and knows correctly, but even he now and then affords another example of the perils which environ the man who guesses at place-names.

HENRY OWEN.

THE COUNCIL IN THE MARCHES OF WALES: a Study in Local Government during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. By Caroline A. J. Skeel, D.Lit., F.R. Hist.S. Girton College Studies II. London: Hugh Rees, Ltd., 1904.

It is a striking coincidence that the history of the Council in the Marches of Wales should have been selected as the subject of two essays for the high academic order of the doctorate, the one of Civil Law at Oxford, the other of Literature at London, within a few years of each other. It is but six years ago since our esteemed fellow-member, Mr. Henry Owen of Poyston, was accorded his D.C.L. for his admirable essay upon "The Administration of English Law in Wales and the Marches", and now we have the publication of the book under review. It would probably be useless, as it would certainly be unprofitable, to speculate upon the reasons and circumstances which led to the selection of this particular subject by Dr. Henry Owen and Dr. Caroline Skeel; but there can at any rate be no doubt that Miss Skeel had by far the harder task, and all because Mr. Henry Owen had forgotten to give *place à la dame*. To Miss Skeel it was the case which so often confronts us all—the ancients are found to have had such a knack of stealing our best thoughts. We hasten to explain, lest we should draw down the oburgations of our respected fellow-member, that the term "ancient" is applied to Dr. Owen only in a Pickwickian sense. Well, Miss Skeel having found her-

self forestalled in the choice of a subject, determined upon going one better over Dr. Owen in the size of her canvas. The latter won his honours by a dissertation that covers only thirty-two pages of print, whereas Miss Skeel's book runs to almost ten times that length. In thus saying, we have at once indicated the feature which gives her work its chief value. So far as conclusions are concerned, it must be admitted that Miss Skeel's additional labours do not lead us to modify or to alter the point of view to which Dr. Henry Owen had already brought us. Perhaps the exact status of the two books, and their difference from each other, may be best indicated by the statement that, to our mind, Dr. Owen's book contains too much law in proportion to history, and Miss Skeel's too much history in proportion to law. The combination provides an admirable result, and we would accordingly strongly recommend those who possess the first to add to it the second. We are especially glad to find that Miss Skeel has not only obtained access to, but has extracted and printed the most valuable of the documents now in the custody of the Bridgwater Trust Board as successors to the earl of Bridgwater, the Lord President of the Council in 1631, which were reported upon in the Historical MSS. Commissioners' eleventh report. This material, supplemented by other documents in private or municipal archives, she has used with great skill and discrimination, with the result that we have for the first time—for in actual details of the working of the court of the Marches, Dr. Henry Owen's essay was certainly deficient—a clear and connected account of the business of the court for certain periods of its existence. The remaining important source of information upon the Council and its court is the British Museum, the documents wherein Miss Skeel has made much use of. There

still remains, however, enough material amongst the Museum manuscript collections that Miss Skeel has either not become acquainted with or has passed without using, to furnish scope for another doctoral essay from an ambitious student. In the "list of authorities" which Miss Skeel has prefixed to her work, she specifies a large number of documents in the Cottonian and Lausdowne collections, the aid towards their discovery rendered by the Cymmrodorion Society's *Catalogue of the MSS. in the British Museum relating to Wales* (the first part of which is mainly taken up with these collections), being duly acknowledged. Of the immense Harleian collection Miss Skeel mentions but five manuscripts as contributing items upon the history of the Council. This is most unfortunate; and it is much to be regretted that Miss Skeel was not aware of the publication of Part ii of the Society's *Catalogue*, where no less than thirty volumes in the Harleian collection are shown to be wholly or in part made up of material *pour servir*, some of it of at least as great importance to the historian as any that has hitherto been utilised. Indeed, the current belief that the records of the court have altogether perished is by no means correct. The late Mr. Thomas Ellis, whilst a Lord of the Treasury, took considerable interest in the matter, but had his ardour damped by a pessimistic communication from the present Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. Yet all the time an immense volume, comprising part of the proceedings of the court, was lying in the British Museum apparently unknown and certainly unexamined. *Harleian* 4220 is a record of the fines levied by the court from 14 Jas. I, to 13 Chas. I—from 1617 to 1638—a period of great importance in its history. The information afforded by this volume is extremely valuable, not only upon the character of the business transacted, but upon the social

condition of the Principality in that time of stress and strain. We give two extracts as examples :—

Fo. 163. Ludlow, 6 Dec. 1624. Thomas Vaughan of Penbrin,¹ in the county of Cardigan, bailiffe of the hundred of Tredrier [Troed yr aur] in the said county for this year 1624, for unlawfull exaction and comortha under colour of his office; committed at the suit of Morgan Jones; fined £13 6s. 8d.

Fo. 301b. March 1632. Glamorgan: Anthonie Turberville of Sker, gent., for ministring an othe upon a popishe Booke for swering of Mathewe Turberville gent., upon his answers by vertue of a Comission out of this Courte to him and Richard Loughor gent., and others directed at the suite of Watkin Loughor gent., and for giving the lie to the said Richard Loughor at the execution of the said Comission; fined £6 13s. 4d.

We feel sure that no one will more regret the missing of this valuable authority than Miss Skeel.

A very interesting portion of Miss Skeel's work is the chapter dealing with "The meeting-places of the Council: Ludlow, Bewdley, Shrewsbury, Hereford and Bridgnorth." Owing to her slighter acquaintance with the Harleian papers than with other British Museum collections, she has missed the following interesting note from *Harleian* 6994, fo. 203. In a letter from the President of the Council (Lord Pembroke) to Burghley, after complaining of the heavy charges of the position, is the observation, "Her Majesty's woods about Ludlowe are soe decayed that iff the Counsaill lie there fewe winters more they will not serve the howse for necessary fewell, much lesse yield the wonted commoditie to her highness." While we most heartily congratulate Miss Skeel upon her work, we are also disposed to be thankful that a good chance of distinction is still left for another worker.

EDWARD OWEN.

¹ Is this an ancestor of the second wife of the celebrated Lewis Morris of Penbryn?

THE DESCRIPTION OF PENBROKESHIRE, by George Owen of Henllys, Lord of Kemes. Edited, with Notes and Appendix, by Henry Owen, D.C.L.Oxon., F.S.A., author of "Gerald the Welshman", "Old Pembroke Families". Part III. London, 1906.

WE cordially welcome the appearance of Part iii of Owen's Pembrokeshire [the No. I of the Cymmrodorion Record Series], in which Dr. Henry Owen places before us a further selection from the writings of George Owen of Henllys, including "The Dialogue of the Government of Wales"; "Cruell Lawes against Welshmen: the Effect of the Cruell and Vnnatural Lawes, made by Henry the ffourth against Welshmen Abreuiated"; "A Treatise of Lordshipps Marchers in Wales", and a portion of "The Description of Wales".

"The Dialogue of the Government of Wales", as published here, is the third of four tracts contained in the folio volume numbered *Harleian MS.* 141 in the British Museum, which dates from the end of the reign of Elizabeth. The text has been collated with another copy in the author's autograph, now preserved at the Cardiff Free Library and forming, with the addition of the Table of "Cruell Lawes against Welshmen", a small quarto volume designated *Phillipps MS.* 21,769. All the most important variations in the two texts are mentioned in the footnotes, and those portions of the Dialogue which are found in the *Phillipps MS.* only are inserted, while those passages which occur in the British Museum text only are duly indicated. Apart altogether from its value and its importance as a description of the proceedings of the various Courts of Justice in Wales some three hundred years ago, the treatise is interesting as an early instance of the use in England of the Socratic method which had

found favour here through the popularity of the famous *Colloquia* of Erasmus.

The "Cruell Lawes" tract is to be found only in the *Phillipps MS.* The Laws themselves were probably the result of the rebellion of Owen Glyndwr, who was in arms against Henry IV during the whole of his reign. George Owen, as a Welsh patriot, approved of the action of Glyndwr, although as a Welsh antiquary, as the Editor observes, he must have lamented the havoc caused directly and indirectly by his rebellion. George Owen's views of Henry's attitude towards the Welsh people may be gathered from the note with which he concludes his Abbreviation, viz. :—

By this it may be seene, that those Cruell Lawes of *Henrie the ffourth* proceeded of mallice against the whole Nation, for hee made no such Lawes against the rest of his Subiects of *Fraunce who Reuolted and Rebelled againste him* neither did he ever attempte to Establishe any Lawe for the good and quiette governemente of *Wales* or for the Abolisheinge any Crvell (cruelty) or inconvenience which he founde Greevouse But all his Lawes weare generall Scurges and punishementes against the whole People of the Contry of *Wales* beinge then his Subiectes, and his Sonne *Prince of Wales* Wee in Englande to this Day haue not made the like against the Spaniards or any other *Capitall Enemies to this Realme.*

The "Treatise of Lordshipps Marchers in Wales" shewing How, whie, and when, they were first erected: and How, whie, and when, they were suppressed: And how they may best be Knowne, and tryed at this daye, from other Lordshipps that weare not Lordshipps marchers", of which several versions have appeared, all more or less incorrect, is now for the first time published from the original manuscript. Dr. Henry Owen had for some time been of opinion that the treatise was written by George Owen; it was therefore a peculiar pleasure to

him to find the original manuscript in George Owen's autograph at Llanstephan among the *Phillipps MSS.* now in the possession of Sir John Williams, Bart. Dr. Owen, in referring to this discovery, takes the opportunity of acknowledging the invaluable assistance he has derived from "that patriotic Welshman's collection of books and MSS. so freely placed at his disposal", an acknowledgment which the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion and the people of Wales generally will most cordially endorse.

This Treatise, with the illuminating footnotes contributed by the Editor and the additional notes on various incidental matters supplied by Mr. Egerton Phillimore, forms a contribution of inestimable value towards the elucidation of many of our most puzzling topographical and historical problems. The incorporation of the result of Mr. Phillimore's researches into the dark places of Welsh History is by no means the least important service which Dr. Owen has rendered to Wales by his publication of "Owen's Pembrokeshire".

The treatise of "The Description of Wales" purports to contain "the number of the Hundreds Castells Parish Churches and ffayres, together with the Names of all chieffe Lordshippes, Markett townes Fforastes and greate woodes Deare parkes, Portes, Havons, chief Mountaynes and hills, Notable Rivers, Monasteries, Priories, Ffriers, and Noneries in all the Shieres of Wales", as well as a considerable number of interesting items "first collected by George Owen of Henllys in Pembrokeshire" in the year 1602. It is copied from a manuscript in the Bodleian Library (*Gough MSS.*, Wales No. 3). At the foot of the title page of the MS. is the name of Robert Holland, who held the living of Prendergast, Walwyn's Castle, and Robeston West in Pembrokeshire, and of Llanddowror in Carmarthenshire, and whose eulogy of George Owen, which

he describes as "An epitaphe upon the Death of the thrice-worthy and fore-named George Owens, Esquior, Deceased, the xxvjth day of August 1614; A frinde's last farewell in token of his love," is reproduced in facsimile by Dr. Henry Owen at the beginning of the present volume. It was found in a Shirburn Castle MS. now in Sir John Williams' Library at Llanstephan. Only a portion of the Description,—that which deals with the Shires of Monmouth, Glamorgan, Brecknock, Radnor, and Pembroke—finds a place in this Part. We note with great satisfaction that Dr. Owen hopes to produce a further Part which will include the remainder of *The Description of Wales*, the *Fragments of Wales*, *The Treatise on Marle*, and an Index, and so conclude the work on which he has bestowed years of incessant labour.

E. VINCENT EVANS.

THE LAYS OF THE ROUND TABLE, by Ernest Rhys.
London: J. M. Dent and Co., 1905.

MR. RHYS's latest book of suggestive and dainty "Lays" will be read by Welshmen with delight and impatience. It would be idle to dwell on the fine qualities of Mr. Rhys's work, its haunting melody, its mystical atmosphere, its verbal charm. Now and again the reader is carried away by the delicate fancy, sometimes by the vividness of the narrative. Who has ever expressed so simply and so directly the vague thoughts which fill the mind even of the least imaginative when gazing on a ruined castle in the white moonlight?

"Only this mist and white half moon
That fill the harvest fields again
With sheaves like men,
Can give them now, as night draws on,
A homeless resurrection.

"I was their House of Majesty :
They were my children—guest and host :
And they are dust :
Look out, my stones that last, and see
Where in the mist their souls may be ?"

Some of the "Lays" will be familiar to those who were privileged to see "Guenevere" on the stage. The best lyric in the play—and in this book—is "The Song of Dinadan", which is admirably characteristic of Mr. Rhys at his best. But Mr. Rhys betrays new qualities in his "Lays" which have hitherto been absent from his work. There is a directness, a dramatic force, in "The Battle of the Two Knights" and the "Lay of Surluse", which come as a surprise to the reader. They make him somewhat impatient of the mere verbal prettiness of some of the other "Lays". For, after all, Mr. Rhys has his duty to perform to Wales as well as to himself. We have no doubt that, as a matter of personal choice, he would like to go on illustrating what the neo-Celtic school love to call the "Celtic mysticism", the Celtic "melancholy", the Celtic "weirdness" and "natural magic". But Mr. Rhys is made for better things, and he can do greater things for Wales. We want not a "Celtic" but a Welsh poet; not a Welsh Yeats, but an English Ceiriog, or Goronwy. We are still waiting for a poet who shall see and feel the pathos and the romance of Wales, to tell the world the story of Griffith ap Rhys and his Gwenllian, the exploits of Llewelyn the Great, and the immortal glory of Llewelyn the Last, the bravest, the most gallant, the most tragic, and the most loveable figure in all our story. It is not only because we admire Mr. Rhys's work, but because we think he has it in him to do still greater things in the future, that we venture to give him this friendly advice. Let him leave Arthur and the Round Table severely alone. The theme has been so "Malorised", if we may coin the

word, that it has ceased to be distinctively Welsh. But Welsh legends and traditions are inexhaustible, and lasting fame awaits the man who can worthily sing them.

W. LLEWELYN WILLIAMS.

CYNFEIRDD LLEYN: 1500-1800: sef Casgliad o Ganiadau, Cynnulledig gyda Nodiadau Eglurhaol, gan J. Jones (Myrddin Fardd). Pwllheli: Richard Jones, 1905.

Nis gall caredigion Llên a Barddas lai na bod yn ddiolchgar i Myrddin Fard am y casgliad dyddorol hwn o waith Cynfeirdd Llein. O ran gwaith yn gystal ag o ran esiamp, teilynga Mr. Jones mewn modd arbenig gymeradwyaeth Cymdeithas sydd yn anad dim yn "caru yr encilion". I lwyddiant ei ddiwydrwydd a'i ddyfalbarhad yn ei faith ymchwil am drysorau cuddiedig ein hanes a'n llenyddiaeth, yr ydym ni sydd yn caru ein gwlad, ei hiaith, a'i defion, yn ddyledus am lawer o wybodaeth a allasai yn hawdd, heb ei ymroddiad diffino ef, lithro dros y geulan i ebargofiant. Y mae meddwl am Gymro gwledig, yn nghanol trafferthion a gorchwylion bywyd llafurus, yn ymroddi trwy'r blynyddau i loffa yn meusydd yr "oesau a fu", yn rhwym o fod yn ysbrydiaeth ac yn gefnogaeth i bwy bynag a gâr hynafiaeth, ac a ymhyfryda yn llenyddiaeth Cymru.

Cynwysa y gyfrol hon gasgliad o ganeuon beirdd fuont yn blodeno yn Llein yn ystod yr unfed, yr eilfed, a'r drydedd-ganrif-ar-bymtheg, yn eu plith William Llein; Huw Llein; Morys Dwyfach; Lewis Daron; Richard Hughes, Cefn Llanfair; Gruffydd Bodwrdda; Huw ap Risiart ap Sion; Gruffydd Williams, Pwllheli; Sion Wynn ap Huw Bodwrdda; Sion Evans, Pwll-Defaid; a Twm Pedrog. Awdlau a Chywyddau Moliant ydyw y rhan fwyaf o'u hysgrifeniadau, ac nid rhyw lawer "o

ddawn yr Awen wir" ellir ddisgwyl mewn cynyrchion personol o'r fath er iddynt gynwys aml i linell bert a syniad tlws. Ond ar wahan i'r farddoniaeth sydd ynddynt, y maent yn werthfawr i ni fel dangoseg o foes a meddwl y cyfnodau yn y rhai yr ysgrifenyddwyd hwynt. Yn ychwanegol at hyn y ceir ynddynt doraeth o hanes lleol a theuluol, yn gystal ag esiamplau lliosog o ddulliau iaith ac ymadrodd o ddyddordeb arbenig i garedigion y Gymraeg. Y mae nodiadau hanesyddol ac ieithyddol Myrddin Fardd yn ychwanegu llawer at werth y gyfrol. Mawr gymeradwywn ei waith i sylw pob Cymmrodor.

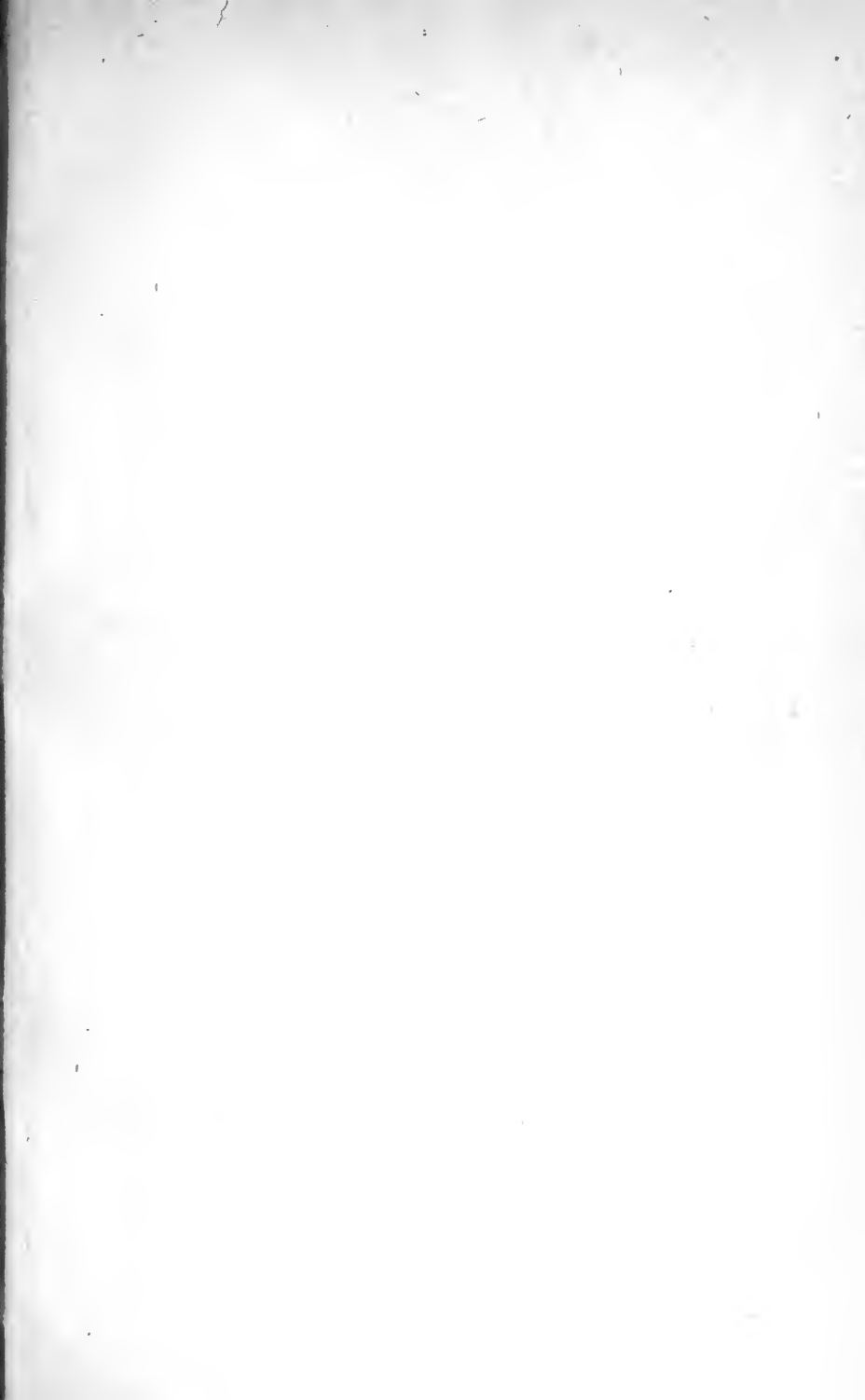
E. VINCENT EVANS.

WELSH ABBEYS: being Short Accounts of their Abbots, Lands, Buildings and Churches, and their Values at the Dissolution. By John A. Randolph, author of "Abbeys Around London," &c. Carmarthen: W. Spurrell and Son, 1905.

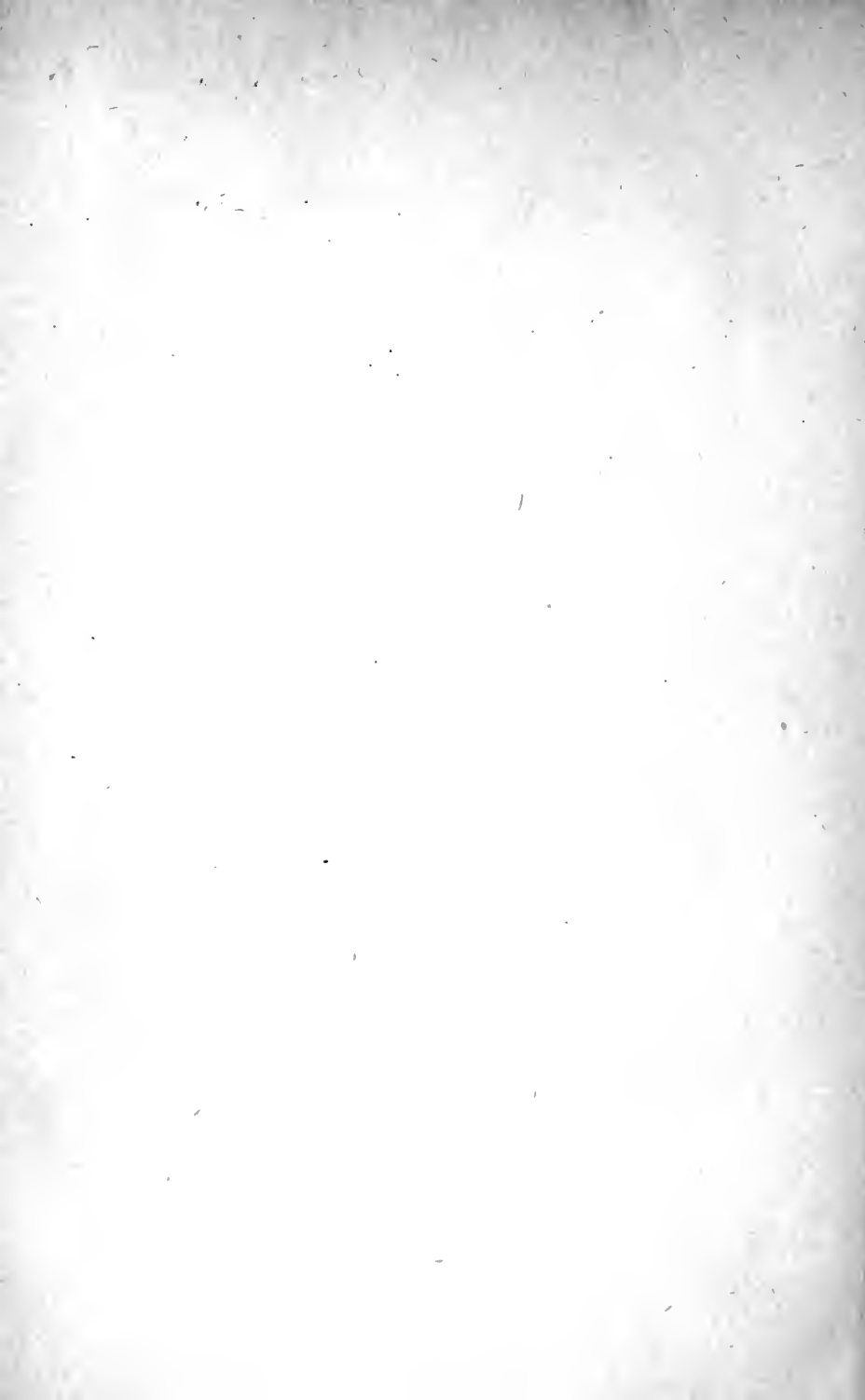
"WELSH ABBEYS" is a small paper-covered quarto, containing some excellent miniature reproductions of illustrations of the ruined Monasteries and Abbeys of Wales by Samuel Buck and others, admirably printed by Messrs. Spurrell and Son, of Carmarthen. They include views of Basingwerk, Cymmer, Strata Florida, Valle Crucis and Margam Abbeys, St. Beuno's Church at Clynnog, St. Dogmael's Priory and other interesting remains. Mr. Randolph in his notes has "avoided as much as possible giving particulars that might be dispensed with; but he is far from proclaiming this book as complete or even perfect." Still it may serve as a slight introduction to a great and important subject.

THE WELSH PEOPLE; Chapters on their Origin, History, Laws, Language, Literature, and Characteristics, by John Rhys, M.A., and David Brynmor-Jones, LL.B. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1906.

THE above edition of *The Welsh People* is the fourth since the first appearance of the book in April 1900. A handsomely printed volume of nearly 700 pp., it is published at five shillings, and it includes the entire contents of the more expensive first edition, with the additions and corrections of the subsequent issues. The book is dedicated by the authors, both of whom are closely connected with the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, to the memory of the late Henry Baron Aberdare of Duffryn, and of the late Thomas Edward Ellis of Cynlas, who were also Vice-Presidents of the Society, "in recognition of the public services rendered by them to their native land." It is not necessary at this date to do more than call attention to the issue of a cheap edition of a work which has been cordially received by all who are interested in the past history and in the present condition of the Welsh People.







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